

The Gender Dimension of Electoral Politics in Kenya:

Capacity Building of Women Candidates
for 1997 and Beyond

Edited by:
Maria Nzomo



NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE
STATUS OF WOMEN (NCSW)

**FRIEDRICH
EBERT
STIFTUNG**

The Gender Dimension of Electoral Politics in Kenya:

Capacity Building of Women Candidates
for 1997 and Beyond

THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE STATUS
OF WOMEN (NCSW)

*Edited by
Maria Nzomo*

Published by
The National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW)
P.O. Box 26039
Nairobi, Kenya

and

Friedrich Ebert Foundation
P.O. Box 48143
Nairobi

©The National Commission on the Status of Women 1997

Designed and Printed by
Typedesign Ltd.
Kijabe Street, Barot House
P.O. Box 8519, Nairobi

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Executive Summary	vi-viii
Chapter 1: Introductory Remarks	1-4
Chapter 2: Perspectives on Women in Electoral Politics and Role of Electoral Commission.....	5-11
Chapter 3: Female Politicians Sharing Political Experiences	12-16
Chapter 4: Summary of Proceedings	17-26
Chapter 5: Electoral Law: Towards a more Gender Responsive Electoral Environment.....	27-36
Chapter 6: Women Candidates in Electoral Politics: Strategic Planning and Management of a Political Campaign	37-49
Chapter 7: Communication Skills and the Art of Public Speaking in Political Campaigns.....	50-61
Chapter 8: Fund Raising Techniques and Resources Management for Women Candidates.....	62-76
Chapter 9: Group Reports and Way Forward	77-83
List of Contributors	84
Abbreviations	85

Foreword

Women in politics - **is there a difference?** Would they fare differently compared to men?

Women are socialized in a different way. They have the responsibility for the children; cannot run away and leave them behind as men sometimes do. They handle a great part of the traditional agriculture and by this, they are a very important and stable economic factor not only for their families but for the whole country. Being bound to so much responsibility, women are used to finding solutions for their day-to-day problems. Therefore, they more often than not are willing to look for compromises and pragmatic solutions. The social role the society and tradition has given to women in Kenya forms a different type of experience and this experience creates a different type of social behaviour.

So, **there is a difference:** women develop a different style of policy which improves the democratic approach in the political culture of the country. That is why more women should be in politics and play an active part in the political life of Kenya.

Because of this, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) supports a number of projects, all of which aim at increasing the number of women in Kenyan politics or to strengthen the awareness of gender aspects in national policy. This aim is defined regardless to the political party affiliation each woman might have. Together with the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW), FES has developed a programme which is to train candidates who apply for a seat in the National Assembly in order to help them to increase their chances in getting their party nomination and winning the parliamentary seat against possible male candidates. The goal of this project is to increase the number of women parliamentarians after the next election compared to the present legislative period and by this to have a more gender sensitive parliament.

It will be easy to judge the effect of this project: if in the next National Assembly the number of women MPs is higher than this time, it will at least have had a part in this improvement. NCSW and FES are convinced that an increased number of women members of parliament will be for the benefit of politics in Kenya. Not only with respect to the gender sensitivity but also to the style of the political culture which then should be more issue-oriented and show less personal conflicts.

*Dr. Thomas Hamer
Resident Director
Friedrich Ebert Foundation*

Nairobi, January 1997

Acknowledgements

The NCSW, in collaboration with FES wish to acknowledge the contributions of various women NGOs, media personnel, gender and human rights activists and all individuals who participated in the preparation and actualization of the November 1996 National Workshop on Capacity Building of Women Candidates, that resulted in this book. We wish in particular to express our gratitude to the following:

- Women MPs and prospective candidates
- Institute for Education and Democracy (I.E.D.)
- The International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA) - Kenya Chapter
- The League of Kenyan Women Voters (LKVV)
- Education Centre for Women and Democracy (ECWD)
- Collaborative Centre for Gender Training (CCGD)
- The Electoral Commission of Kenya
- H. E. Eness Chiyenge, the Zambian High Commissioner to Kenya.

We sincerely wish to thank the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), for supporting this project; especially the Resident Director - Dr. Thomas Hamer and the Senior WID Programme Officer, Ms Jacinta Makokha. Their personal commitment and unswerving support for the political empowerment of women in Kenya is greatly appreciated.

It is our hope that the information contained in this book will form an important foundation for building capacity of women politicians to win political office and for the rest of us to provide them with the necessary support services. It is our hope that together, we can effectively participate in the development of a gender responsive and democratic Kenya.

Prof. Maria Nzomo
Chairperson (NCSW),

January 1997

Executive Summary

This book contains the proceedings, speeches and papers presented at the NCSW's national workshop on Capacity Building of Women Candidates, held on 8th November, 1996, and sponsored by NCSW and FES.

The Workshop brought together women MPs and other politicians, potential candidates and representatives of women NGOs working in the field of political empowerment of women.

The Workshop's objectives included encouraging more women to participate in future elective positions, strategizing on women's greater participation in the 1997 General Elections, as well as updating and harmonising training materials for Capacity Building Programmes for women candidates. The current efforts by NCSW to develop comprehensive training manuals for civic education and candidate training will, hopefully, benefit from the outcome of the November 8th workshop.

These objectives were spelt out in NCSW's opening remarks and they are in line with NCSW's mission and vision, which is to push for women's greater participation in politics and to lobby for the removal of all forms of gender discrimination. This vision and mission have found expression in previous programme activities of the organisation which include: 1st phase of *Capacity Building of Women Candidates*, started in 1992, *Civic Education 1993 -1996*, *Gender Sensitization of the Media* and the establishment of the *NCSW Political Information Centre (PIC)* (1997).

From the many speeches, comments and testimonies made by the workshop participants, women politicians and paper presenters, major issues were raised in regard to concerns and strategies for political empowerment of women.

In her speech, the FES representative Ms Jacinta Makokha, lamented the inadequate representation of the female gender in parliament and called for collaborative efforts among women NGOs to increase that representation.

In his keynote address, Justice (Rtd) Z. R. Chesoni, Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya, noted that women in Kenya participated in politics even during the struggle for independence. Since 1969, the Kenyan National Assembly has had women members of parliament. And since 1992, women have participated in politics as candidates, election

monitors, election officials, voters and campaigners. However, women continue to experience obstacles in participating in electoral politics. These obstacles must be eliminated to give equal opportunity for all candidates regardless of their gender. Towards this end, he proposed the enactment of a *Code of Conduct for all Political Parties*, as one way of enhancing women's participation in party politics. This code of conduct would in particular reduce incidents of violence and insecurity, which are major hindrances to women's electoral political participation.

While sharing political experiences and providing an assessment of needs and strategies for winning the 1997 elections, potential women candidates pointed out women's constraints to political participation as being: (i) lack of economic support, (ii) negative socio-cultural attitudes, and (iii) gender insensitive electoral laws. Women candidates underscored the need for financial and material support especially for transport and security during the campaign period. They suggested the need to develop a fundraising strategy for women candidates and possibly setting up a *National Trust Fund* for that purpose. Discrimination against women within their political parties was also singled out as a major obstacle. Women candidates are not easily endorsed by their political parties during the party nomination process. Furthermore, a lot of skills are needed to manage a successful campaign. Thus, while a woman candidate's development record is useful in political campaigns, women candidates must plan a campaign strategy well for it to work. A candidate needs a localized packaging of campaign messages. It is therefore important to do research for the identification of relevant campaign issues in advance. This will assist candidates to focus their campaign on consumable issues. There is also need to establish solidarity between women candidates and voters by seeking to understand the local culture of the people they want to represent in Parliament. It is also essential for women prospective candidates to make an effort of attending harambees organised by churches and women groups. Such functions create familiarity for women candidates. Women candidates need the support of a well informed and highly gender sensitized electorate. It is important, therefore, that civic education reach women and men at the grassroots before the 1997 elections. There is also need for developing strong support networks to assist women candidates during the campaign process.

Participants were also in agreement that issues which affect professional/elite women also affect rural grassroots women. There was therefore need for women to seek unity in diversity. That would serve as their major political strength. The need to co-ordinate the many good

initiatives by women NGOs working in the area of political empowerment was, once again, underscored.

Recommendations

Arising from the deliberations of the workshop, it was accordingly agreed that:

- (i) A *Political Caucus* be formed by all women organisations interested in candidate's Capacity Building and Civic Education.
- (ii) NCSW facilitate the first meeting to set up the Caucus.
- (iii) A *newsletter* to share news and information among women empowerment NGOs be established. NCSW reported that it intended to start a newsletter as part of its Political Information Centre (PIC) which is in the process of being set up.
- (iv) A *hotline* for women candidates during the electoral period be set up to link gender activists and candidates and hence serve as a rapid linkage mechanism with the media. NCSW reported that, with the establishment of PIC, a hotline for political information and for purposes of rapid response to gender issues will be put in place as an activity of PIC.
- (v) A *situational analysis* be carried out in all constituencies where women candidates will vie for elective positions, with a view to establishing real campaign issues and targets.
- (vi) A *National Women's Campaign Fund* be established. The Fund should be managed by a board of trustees appointed by participating women NGOs and candidates. The fund should also be self-sustaining.

Introductory Remarks

Welcoming Remarks - *Grace Githu*

In her welcoming remarks, the Moderator of the first session Ms. Grace Githu thanked participants for attending the workshop. She stated that the aim of the workshop was to find ways of encouraging more women to participate in future elective positions. Currently, there are six women members of parliament (elected) and one nominated and a host of councillors.

Ms. Githu commended the work NCSW has been doing in the area of women's political empowerment.

NCSW has been doing this work since 1992, when it took advantage of the prevailing political momentum in the country.

A similar workshop organised by NCSW in July 1992, after the country adopted a multi-party system of government, resulted in more women getting elected into parliament and civic positions. Indeed, NCSW set the women's political agenda by encouraging women to vie for political elective positions.

NCSW has since done a lot of work on a continuous basis in this area of political empowerment of women and this workshop is a follow up of the same. The Preparatory Candidates workshop was to strategize on women's greater participation in the 1997 General Elections.

Ms. Githu then welcomed the National Chairperson of NCSW to address workshop participants.

Opening Remarks - *Maria Nzomo*

In 1992, when the NCSW was first formed as a lobby group to push for women's greater participation in politics, the organization had a vision and a mission. We were full of hope, determination and optimism. Our vision then as now, was to contribute to the removal of all forms of gender based discriminations and to participate in democratizing Kenyan politics and society, in a gender responsive manner.

In 1992 we thought that we could overcome the socio-cultural and institutional barriers to women's political participation and attain at least

35% women representation in civic and parliamentary bodies after the general elections. We did not attain our mission but we made significant progress towards the vision, reflecting the joint women empowerment campaign, facilitated by women lobby groups and organizations.

NCSW has come a long way since July 1992, when it organised the first national training workshop for Capacity Building of Women Candidates.

We have retained our vision and mission of facilitating political empowerment of women. We have further developed more realistic targets and adopted longer term approaches to attaining the organizations's objectives. We have, for example, broadened our civic education programme to include not only issues related to gender sensitization and political empowerment of women, but also legal and economic rights awareness.

In the meantime, NCSW has also embarked on a gender sensitization of the media programme, targeting all levels of media personnel, from the top policy makers to the rural based reporters. A training manual for this purpose has been developed.

To further facilitate the process of political empowerment of women, NCSW is in the process of establishing a *Political Information Centre (PIC)* for women. The PIC will serve as a political data bank and provide a forum for networking and dialogue among women both nationally and internationally.

NCSW has to-date completed three phases of civic education, targeting mainly women at the grassroots level. NCSW has so far implemented this programme in 15 out of the 61 districts in the country. The organization has just embarked on its fourth civic education phase which will be implemented in four districts: Kilifi, Kitui, Nyeri and Siaya.

Through the civic education programme, NCSW has been recruiting and identifying prospective women candidates from among the women leaders who participated in our grassroots seminars. We have noted significant interest in electoral politics among grassroots women leaders, but the majority are uncertain and lack confidence in their ability to win an elective political post.

In this regard, it is gratifying to note that a number of women organizations have undertaken to contribute to the capacity building of women candidates, through voter education, rights awareness and training.

It is the wish of the NCSW to collaborate with other organizations in implementing this programme. It is in this spirit that NCSW has organised

this seminar, in the hope that from the deliberations arising out of this workshop, we can agree on the most important concerns and issues, as well as the most viable and practical strategies for supporting prospective women candidates.

NCSW is already in the process of updating and developing a training manual for women candidates, which we undertake to share widely with other implementing organizations.

The topics addressed in the paper presentations of the second session of this workshop represent some of NCSW's thinking on the basic issues that should be addressed in a training curriculum.

The programme of to-day's workshop provides an excellent opportunity for women MPs who all have a lot of practical political experience, to tell us candidly their own assessment of the real needs of women candidates in electoral politics, as opposed to what those of us outside the political arena may imagine.

The woman politician's assessment, together with some of the issues to be raised in the presentations in the second and third sessions, should hopefully provide us with an adequate basis for fruitful discussions and formulations of recommendations on how best to move forward on this important mission of supporting women candidates.

In regard to the **Beijing Platform of Action**, let me also say that we in the NCSW welcome the passing in parliament of the motion on the implementation of this policy document. We congratulate those in the government and opposition who supported and positively contributed to the discussions that led to the adoption of this motion. We especially pay tribute to all women MPs for moving and standing solidly in support of this motion.

But we would also wish to express our disappointment with those few male members of parliament who misused the opportunity provided for discussing this motion, to castigate and condemn the very women who had lobbied so hard on behalf of all women (both rural and urban) in this country, to get government to allocate resources for the implementation of the Beijing Platform of Action. It is indeed very unfortunate that some male leaders view educated women as a liability rather than an asset to the Kenyan society.

We in the Commission strongly urge such MPs to desist from their retrogressive habit of creating artificial barriers between rural and urban women, by claiming that elite women have lost touch with grassroot women. We would indeed challenge these male leaders to tell the Kenyan public what they themselves have done for women in their constituencies.

More importantly perhaps, this unfortunate incident clearly points the dire need for intensifying gender sensitization programmes for both women and men. It would appear men need more gender education than women.

Perspective on Women in Electoral Politics and Role of Electoral Commission

In welcoming the guest of honour, Justice (Rtd) Zaccheus R. Chesoni, the Chairman of the Electoral Commission, the moderator, on behalf of the participants congratulated him on his reappointment for a second term as the Chairman of the Electoral Commission and wished him well in the management of the 1997 elections, especially in ensuring that they were free, fair and gender responsive.

The following is the full speech by Justice Chesoni.

Women Participation in Politics: Opportunities, Constraints and Strategies

The 1981 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights which is broadly similar to its predecessor. The 1948 universal Declaration of Human Rights provides in Article 13 (1) that:

"Every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives in accordance with the provisions of the law."

Participation freely in the government has the meaning of the right of a citizen to participate freely in the political government of one's country. This view is illustrated by Article 20 of the 1948 American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man whose wording is the same as those of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and the Universal Rights, but has an additional phrase which provides as follows:

"And to take part in popular elections, which shall be by secret ballot, and shall be honest, periodic and free."

The articles of the aforesaid declarations which I have referred to are part of the requirements for free and fair elections, which has effect on women's participation in politics.

Women in Kenya have participated in active politics including the struggle for independence before the passing of the declarations I have cited in this address. You will recall the contribution of Wanjiru the woman who led men in the demand for the release of Harry Thuku in 1922. She

was shot dead together with men on the steps of Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi during the struggle for independence. I tend to believe that while numerically fewer women fought side by side with men during the protest. Women fought side by side with men during the struggle for independence. I tend to believe that while numerically fewer women have actively participated in politics, women are more steady and honest than their men counterparts in demonstrating how practical a government should be. Perhaps that is why in 1778, John Adams said *"the manners of women are the surest way by which to determine whether a republican government is practical in a nation or not."*

I do not wish to dwell on the historic development of women participation in Kenyan politics, but I would like to observe with you that since 1969 to-date, the National Assembly of Kenya has not been without the charming face of a lady Member of Parliament. In 1969 - 75, there were two women as compared to seven in 1992 - 96. In 1992 out of the twenty women candidates for Parliamentary seats, six were elected representing 30% of the candidates. In Britain during the same period only 9% of the women candidates were elected.

Women participate in politics as candidates, voters, campaigners, election officials and observers. However, from the letter inviting me it would appear the workshop's interest is on the women who will be vying for election in the next General Election. I think this is a reasonable approach since on voting, Kenyan women are entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men. While it can be generally be said that women have equal opportunities with men to contest for election in any civic ward or parliamentary constituency, there are still obstacles that make the playing ground between men and women candidates not level. For example it is quite costly financially to manage any election, and, the social set up in Kenya gives men greater opportunities of access to financial resources than it does to women. This means that while most men candidates are likely to have easy money to run an election women candidates experience financial hardship which is made worse by the reluctance of male dominated managerially financial institutions to grant women candidates financial facilities without the consent of their husbands even when the women have their own independent securities. Another constraint is the campaign atmosphere which involves political thuggery uncivil language and violence all of which discourage women participation. Plato once said *"politics, as the word is commonly understood, are nothing but corruptions."* Generally, women candidates shy away from corrupt political practices which propel some men through elections

This (corruption) is a constraint.

I am aware of what Honorore de Balzac said that:

"Equality may perhaps be a right, but no power on earth can even turn it into a fact."

I, nevertheless, think that time has come when serious thought must be given and action taken to provide equal opportunities to all candidates vying for civic and parliamentary elections. Such a strategy will enable more women succeed in their political participation.

I have been allowed only thirty minutes in which to address you. For a person who once let loose talks endlessly this is not enough time even to introduce what he/she would like to say. Be that as it may, the Electoral Commission firmly believes that the solution to establishing a level playing ground that will help women candidates is to have a code of conduct to govern the behaviour of all candidates and political parties supporting candidates for the next General Election.

The Code of Conduct should require all persons, all political parties, their leaders, members and supporters and candidates to abide by it. All political parties would undertake to comply with existing election laws and rules. Everyone would be required to respect the right of others and all political parties, candidates and their supporters and agents would undertake not to obstruct or break up meetings organized by rival parties and candidates, nor interrupt speeches or prevent distribution of handbills, leaflets and posting of posters of other parties and candidates and not destroy or deface posters of other candidates and parties. Violence shall not only be avoided but also be condemned, and no weapon should be allowed at venues of meetings etc. Any candidates or political parties that infringe the code should be punished by the Commission after being given a hearing.

The Electoral Commission is considering alternatives for introducing and enforcing a Code of Conduct should Parliament fail to enact it as part of election laws before the next General Election. Experience has taught us to agree with Charles De Gaulle that politics are too serious a matter to be left to the politicians. In conclusion, if any of you lady candidates feel that you are not ready when Parliament is dissolved you should not worry for in the words of Robert Louis Stevenson, politics is perhaps the only profession for which no preparation is thought necessary. My I wish prospective candidates and this workshop a success. Please feel free to consult with the Electoral Commission at any time. Bear in mind that election is like a violent love affair.

Dialogue with Justice Chesoni on Gender and Law of Electoral Commission

Question: What protection can women NGOs who participate in civic education programmes get from the commission to help them educate women since they are the majority voters? Women NGOs do not have a free hand, they are frustrated by the provincial administration. Can the Electoral Commission help NGOs?

Chesoni: What do you mean, that you don't have a free hand? The Commission strongly support NGOs involved in civic education and voter education. We will also help organizations which approach us to buy airtime and space in the newspapers for the same purpose.

Question: But NGO meetings are sometimes cancelled or required to have special permits which are not easily available. Don't you think this makes it very difficult to gather women to give civic education?

Chesoni: Your concern will be more relevant to the Attorney General and the Permanent Secretary in charge of Internal Security. The Commission is against licensing of human beings to open their mouths. Another participant disagreed with what the Chairman of the commission stated, by saying that the demand for licensing of meetings has been the main complaint right from the grassroots. If the Commission is in charge of the whole electoral process, it is important to ensure that even the government respects its work.

Question: Is the code of conduct, particularly when it comes to violence and use of abusive language enough to contain these evils in an electoral process? What plans do you have on these? Further, could you clarify the type of Identity Card (Ids) to be used during the next elections?

Chesoni: The Electoral Commission is in charge of the electoral process, not the government. However, the Commission is subject to the laws of the country like other citizens. The commission has an interest in the registration of persons because section 43 of the constitution of Kenya says that a voter must produce an Identity Card. It is the minister in charge of Internal Security who can determine the validity of

the new ID cards. In the last general elections (1992), the commission accepted passports for registration of voters but the commission was still subject to the minister's directives. A participant suggested that registration of voters should not start until everybody has received their second generation identity cards.

Question: In the past, the Commission talked severally about the code of conduct. The Commission has also lamented that people do not adhere to rules. For example, if they like KANU, it may be favoured. What would be your role as the Chairman of the Electoral Commission in elections supposing parliament does not pass the code of conduct to make sure that such items are respected during the elections?

Chesoni: I can assure you that the president, if he is a candidate would have to adhere to the rules.

Question: What is the role of the Electoral Commission if Parliament does not enact the electoral laws proposed by the Electoral Commission?

Chesoni: The code of conduct was established in 1992. Then, there was consensus among the main political parties and all parties were consulted. However, the major political parties declined to sign the code of conduct. Only DP signed. Since it was an agreement, the Electoral Commission could not do anything. That is the reason why the commission is attempting to have the code passed through the legislature.

A participant observed that what is needed desperately is not the code of conduct. She observed that violence has been orchestrated before the eyes of policemen. She had personally watched the penal code abused and it has gone unprosecuted during elections. Perhaps, she suggested, we should start by making policemen to be under the Electoral Commission during the election period, and empower them to make arrests etc. There is need to enforce the existing laws before we can enact more laws. The government must be ready to enforce the laws that we have, for example like violence which prevents candidates from presenting their papers for nomination. Until this is achieved, there will be no free and fair elections:

Question: What is the need of formulating more laws when the ones we have are not being followed.

Chesoni: I concur totally with the participant. However, the existing laws have failed to enforce what they provide for. That is why we need new legislation to empower the Electoral Commission. The Commission will be responsible for the enforcement of the code of conduct.



Closing Speech

*by H.E. Mrs Eness Chiyenge,
(Zambian High Commissioner)*

Madam Chairperson, Distinguished Guests, Fellow Ladies, (Dear Gentlemen)

I feel honoured to have been invited to officiate at the closing ceremony of this very important workshop. I identify with the current struggles of women in our society today to overcome oppression and gain equal recognition in political, social and economic processes. First of all because I am a woman but not least because I believe the personhood of a woman is wrought with vast capabilities and potential that should be met with benevolent acknowledgement, respect and recognition in the male personhood.

Today as we approach the 21st century the mainstream political, social and economic development processes are dominated by men most of whom are hostile to women participation. Therefore, the struggle for women participation and success should assume a rational combination of strategies at the various battle fronts. Rather than concentrate on a combative or antagonistic approach towards men, we should strive to show them by various means women role models in society, the efficiency of a woman in the family setting (which is very applicable in the African context etc. that a woman is indeed an asset whose vast capabilities and potential have been abused, suppressed and ignored by society at its own peril.

In order to do this, women first and foremost have to recognise themselves and relate their womanhood with all its positive attributes appropriately in society within the family and community contexts. Woman must be assertive in the positive sense in applying her special gifts and talents for the benefit of society.

The factors that have contributed to woman's marginalisation include traditional values. These are deep rooted in history and at worst have tended to rate women as slaves or property to use and dispose of at whims of men. Unfortunately, modern society has by and large inherited

these offensive values and continues to evolve policies that repressive or suppressive elements against women. In the family girl child is at a disadvantage. If at all she does make it through school her career orientation is restrictive. If a woman is married, she will most likely be reduced to the traditional role of husband's slave property. If she does attain a mainstream place in society's development processes, she has to struggle hard against an environment that is hostile, biased and prejudiced against her. However, I am proud to know whenever women have been given the rare opportunity to stand man on equal footing in decision-making processes at all levels in society they have more often succeeded than not.

The challenges of empowering women would be meant more squarely from a wholistic approach that takes account of all the factors that militate against their participation and success in elections. Apart from the necessity to mount strategic campaigns through appropriate institutions which will do battle with enemies to those objectives at the family, community, legislative and policy formulation fronts amongst others women that have stood up and made it and those that are striving to reach their goals should graciously carry the banner that should uplift women from the dungeons and translate them into self aware and recognized individuals so that their rightful place in society should be taken.

These women will have to truly empathise with and offer practical help to women struggling at all levels and take up advocacy in a sense not remotely. This is one of the ways that women can gain favour amongst the women electorate at different levels of our society, more all at the grassroots level.

I am impressed with the recommendations which have emerged from this workshop. The real test of the efficacy of these resolutions comes at the implementation stage between now and the time of elections. Progress will be seen in the fruit the outcome of the elections. Can we look forward to a much larger number of women in parliament and in local government?

This is a goal I share with the womenfolk back in Zambia and I am happy to share it with the Kenyan women who are struggling towards the same goal in 1997.

With these remarks it is my pleasure to declare this workshop closed.
GOD BLESS YOU.

Female Politicians Sharing Political Experiences

This Chapter contains the summary of discussions by women politicians at the NCSW November 1996 Workshop who shared their views and political experiences with participants.

Dr. Julia Ojiambo, the first woman Assistant Minister in the independent Government of Kenya was the first to address participants. Dr. Ojiambo is also a long-serving woman Member of Parliament.

Dr. Ojiambo gave her life experience as a party activist since 1961 when KANU was formed. She added that her political interest and experience is over 20 years old and every year it improves and adds some new experience, awareness and strategies.

Dr. Ojiambo joined active politics in 1974. However, prior to independence, she participated in setting up homes, soup kitchens and picking up children who had been left behind by freedom fighters. She witnessed and saw women carrying food into the forest to feed freedom fighters. Her political history, she added, is long and she cannot just summarize it in a short time.

Her experience in parliament in 1974 happened during the one party political system. The multi-party experience of 1992 is like the one of 1963. The struggle during the one party system was harder because it was like you were alone and thrown among lions. The abusive language you hear today was even worse then. The songs which were composed by women who as you know are the ones who know more about other women were in bad test. She said she appreciated that civic education is now reaching the grassroots women. Civic education messages should reach all, including young women who are the next in leadership.

She said: "I recall that when Grace Onyango and I were in Parliament, we never abused anybody. I insisted on my manifesto, talked about water, education, health and economic activities etc. This is what we want to be done to our young girls. Inferiority of women must end very soon. Women need to co-operate as women in terms of respecting one another.

Politics is survival for the fittest. Women will not get political empowerment easily, hence we need to share experiences and prepare ourselves. We need economic support.

Women still think that men must lead, thus, women candidates need to be supported in order to make political differences and create solidarity among women. There is need to reach women supporters in the rural areas.

There is nowhere in the world where women have not struggled to reach where they are. We must be prepared to fight, it is not easy. Lack of economic support, negative social systems and electoral laws have eliminated women in seeking for political office. A woman leader is alone out there because very few women understand our plight as they still think that politics is for men. Women need to support their own in elections. We need to reach down in the rural areas to facilitate our women candidates.

Women candidates need vehicles to facilitate mobility and real cash for feeding their supporters. Women candidates need to work hard and this can only happen when there is some necessary support - especially financial and material support from other women and donor community."

Beth Mugo – As you know, she stated: "My background is in women's leadership. I am a founder member of DP. Discrimination starts in the party. Women are not allowed to occupy certain positions"

Another problem is in the area of endorsement of candidates. A woman must be able to prove herself in many ways as this are the credentials which may make them acceptable as candidates. Women must also make their agenda to be known. Women still associate electoral politics to governing, which they interpret to be a male occupation. We must associate parliament with development, so that women candidates are seen as developers, not politicians.

On the campaign organization: A lot of supporters, particularly in the urban areas would cheat you. Fundraising is an important aspect of campaign. Money is a must. As women, how would we support our candidates? There is the crucial professional support which is required for our candidates in the elections. A lot of skills are required in campaign management. Security, particularly in urban campaigns for women candidates is very difficult.

On transport, we witness bad roads. Women candidates need support, even in kind, like provision of vehicles are required to help in campaigns. A lot of cash money is also required for campaigns and a lot of development efforts, - for example give a good headstart in elections. The men out there are not anti-women. The youth are also supportive. However, they need more sensitization to ensure that they are totally with us.

Tabitha Seii – I contested elections in 1992 against Biwott in Kerio South, where I come from. I have had a chance to share my experience with other women in similar workshops. What I want to say here is that one's development record is a useful aid in campaigns, particularly in KANU zones. You can easily be dismissed because of other hindrances.

In 1992, I was given my license only a week to elections. There is no protection whatsoever out there. There was a lot of violence. Women need to push for constitutional changes before the next elections to protect the candidates. There is very little you can achieve with the present electoral rules. Fear gripped the whole area during 1992 elections, with observers watching helplessly.

Laws must be reinforced to remove the incumbent and the administrative hindrances. We must go down to the grassroots to influence the voters so that they can buy your vision.

Civic education trainers must work at the grassroots so that supporters for women candidates are not swayed. Assistance in the area of development is required to relate potential women candidates to their development track records. How can the problem of a donor not wanting to associate with a political party be solved since donor's support of a candidate would be seen as being partisan?

There has to be a way of addressing the question of violence during elections even if it is protesting against the problems, and seeking for support.

Rose Waruhiu – I joined DP campaigns in 1992, helped in selling the party at the grassroots, she stated. Despite that, the machinery that the party used to identify party candidates excluded most women candidates. In fact, she added, she was almost excluded. Out there (at the constituency level) you are almost alone. You feel you have a role to play and yet at the end of the day, you need somebody to plan with you and constantly be by your side. You need personal campaigners to be close to you. There is need, Mrs. Waruhiu added, to plan a candidates' campaign strategy well for it to work.

To this end, she suggested that a candidate needs a localised packaging of campaign messages to be able to respond to the issues in her constituency or area of operation. It is important to do research in advance in all constituencies where women candidates would vie for political parliamentary positions to highlight campaign issues. This is one way of helping women candidates.

In my constituency, Mrs. Waruhiu added, it was hard for the members

of the Kikuyu ethnic group to understand how a woman would take care of their wealth since this is one perception, of what a leader should do. To this end, there is need for solidarity among women candidates and voters. This can be achieved through civic education seminars and women prospective candidates must attend all harambees they are invited to, either personally or by sending others to represent them.

It is also important for prospective women candidates to understand the culture of the people she wants to represent well. This is important to be able to change people's attitudes about leaders and leadership.

Finally, security was a real serious problem. Resources are needed for security purposes because candidates need a team of security personnel to protect them and even their supporters.

Hon. Charity Kaluki Ngilu – For Ngilu, it was in July 1992 at the YMCA, Nairobi workshop which turned her into the politician she is now. Women at the workshop were preparing to go to parliament and that became a turning point in her life. Parliament, she realised, is not a place for men. Men take politics as a game of money, power and women.

We need to redefine our position as women in politics: What difference do we as women want to make in politics? What are we looking for? We need to have more training on our weaknesses and our strengths strengthened further, she suggested.

For Hon. Ngilu, she added that she went to parliament on the basis of issues which she raised such as health, education and water. She formed village committees to campaign using these issues.

There was obvious discrimination against women and this made women candidates' campaign very hard. Women candidates should have a development plan for their constituency.

Women candidates should also incorporate women in the campaign as campaign managers. Women candidates must focus on what they want to do and to become.

Hon. Martha Karua – She observed that professional women have been called elitists because of holding forums such as the workshop in progress then. She noted that issues which affect elite women were the same which affected the so called rural women. Elite women have always voiced concerns which affect their rural sisters. Indeed, Karua remarked, there are more similarities between rural and urban women than differences.

For Karua, she found the majority of women in her constituency warm

and welcoming. One need not feel lonely if women can create sisterhood among themselves. Men also have an unbroken bond among themselves

Karua emigrated from Ford-Asili to DP in 1992 because she had been rigged out as a candidate. However, she trounced the man who had rigged her out of Ford-A overwhelmingly in the general elections.

Women in many parties were sacrificed to give up their candidatures to men. It is our duty in this forum to call for quotas in our respective political parties.

She suggested that both the political parties and the government need to put in place quotas for women to be able to make it politically.

Similarly, anybody thinking of elections must form her own security team. We also need fundraising teams to help women candidates. Harambees organised by churches and women groups help to familiarize candidates with the people. There is need for a hotline managed by women NGOs where women candidates can give their problems and call for support.

In campaigns, you have to be on the offensive, not defensive. You concentrate on campaign issues. If women are given a freehand to compete with men, she concluded, many women will be in that parliament.

Summary of Proceedings

Introductory Remarks – *Maria Nzomo, NCSW*

Maria Nzomo welcomed and thanked participants for attending the workshop.

In her introductory remarks on behalf of NCSW, the Chairperson gave a brief historical background of the National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW). She then expounded on the major mission and vision of NCSW that has informed its activities to-date. She noted that NCSW has been consistent in encouraging women to participate in politics. NCSW has been on the forefront in lobbying for the removal of all forms of gender discrimination.

Nzomo reminded participants that it was NCSW which organized the first successful Women Candidates Capacity Building workshop in July, 1992. NCSW then set in motion the training programmes of Capacity Building of Women Candidates in this country to-day.

NCSW has since expanded its programmes to include Civic Education comprising of gender sensitization, legal awareness and general women's political and economic empowerment. NCSW has to date organised successful Civic Education seminars in 15 districts out of the 61 districts in the country and will soon embark on its third phase of the Civic Education programme which will cover the following four districts: Kilifi, Kitui, Nyeri and Siaya. Throughout its Civic Education seminars, NCSW has identified many women prospective candidates, who have shown significant interest in electoral politics. But the majority of these women prospective candidates lack confidence on winning elective positions. NCSW like other women NGOs and organisations need to work with these prospective candidates, to build up their confidence on winning elections.

NCSW has also set up a programme for gender sensitization of the media, and is in the final stage of producing a training manual for that purpose. NCSW is also setting up a Political Information Centre (PIC). The PIC will be some kind of political data bank which will provide a forum for networking and dialogue among women nationally and internationally.

Nzomo recognized the joint efforts of NCSW with other women NGOs and organisations which have witnessed some positive success in the area of women's political empowerment. In this regard, NCSW is collaborating with other women NGOs and organisations with similar interests on capacity building of women candidates. Through this workshop, NCSW hopes to generate collaboration in the development of a common curriculum for Capacity Building of Women Candidates. This collaboration would greatly enhance the quality of the training manual for women candidates that NCSW is currently updating.

Commenting on the passing of the motion on the *Post-Beijing Platform* by Parliament, Nzomo paid tribute to all women Members of Parliament for moving and supporting the motion. She congratulated those members of parliament in the opposition and the Government who supported the motion. Nzomo however lamented that some male leaders viewed educated women as a liability rather than an asset to this country's development. In this regard, she castigated those male MPs who create artificial barriers between elite women and the grassroots women.

Finally, Nzomo noted that women NGOs should take some of the gender insensitive utterances by male MPs, as an important pointer and challenge to step up gender sensitization programmes, particularly focusing on male leaders. She also challenged male leaders to attend gender seminars to recognise that they are not just social gatherings but important educational forums.

Comments by a representative of Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Nairobi, Ms. Jacinta Makokha

Ms. Jacinta Makokha represented the Resident Director of FES, has been a development partner with the NCSW since 1992 when the Commission organised the first seminar to promote women's political participation in Kenya.

Ms. Makokha also noted that FES works with other organisations locally and internationally on the political empowerment of women including the need to promote Post-Beijing recommendations. She also observed that the government should be more serious to introduce some affirmative action check the gender disparity in the country. Although women constitute 52% of the population, she noted, they were not adequately represented in parliament and other fora.

On behalf of FES, Ms. Makokha noted that the workshop was a consultative meeting to enable women NGOs enhance the capacity building of women candidates. It would also enable NCSW to put together a capacity building training manual for women candidates, which will be useful across the board, to meet the needs of the candidates who will participate in elections in 1997. She urged participants to bring all issues and concerns which could be included in the capacity building training manual.

Finally, Ms. Makokha observed that most people are still ignorant regarding the Beijing Platform of Action and its contents. It is important, she argued, for women NGOs to help both men and women to understand the Platform of Action.

Key note address

by Justice Chesoni (EC Chairman)

Justice Chesoni thanked participants for welcoming and supporting his re-appointment as the chairman of the Electoral Commission. However, he recorded his disappointment because he expected a lady to take over the position of chairperson of the electoral commission this time around, to give women a first hand experience on managing elections.

Chesoni noted that the Kenyan electoral system is a good one in ensuring free and fair elections, since there are no prior presidential elections to influence the subsequent electoral results.

The *African Charter on Peoples and Human Rights* which was enacted in 1981 is broadly similar to *The 1948 Declaration of Universal Rights* which gave all people the right to freely participate in the affairs of their respective countries. This view is also in the *American Chapter on Human Rights and Freedoms of Man* which adds that all people have equal rights to participate in popular elections by secret ballot which shall be free and fair.

Women in Kenya participated in politics even during the struggle for independence. He recalled the contributions made by Wanjiku, a woman who led men in demanding the release of Harry Thuku in 1922. She was shot dead at the steps of the Norfolk Hotel.

Similarly, women in Kenya fought side by side with men in the struggle for independence. There are few women in politics but are more steady and practical in demonstrating how a government is run, stated Justice Chesoni. Quoting from John Adams (1778), Chesoni noted that, "the manners of women are the surest way of determining the performance

of a government,” and whether it will be re-elected.

Since 1969 to date, the National Assembly has not been without women. In 1992, for example, out of 19 nominated women candidates who stood for parliamentary elections, 6 women or 30% of all the women candidates were elected to parliament. The National Commission on the Status of Women and the Electoral Commission worked hard to achieve these results. During the same period in Britain, only 9% of women were elected. Indeed, observed Chesoni, women organizations and NGOs especially NCSW pointed out problems which confronted women candidates. Similarly, women participated in politics as candidates, observers, voters, campaigners and as election officials. Women are entitled to vote on equal terms with men in all civic wards and parliamentary constituencies. Women, stated Justice Chesoni, also experienced obstacles which made the playing ground not level in electoral politics.

In Kenya, women have equal opportunities to compete with men in elections although there are complaints mainly about male harassment.

Other obstacles include financial costs. The social setting gives men more opportunities and access to finances than women. Money is required to meet campaign expenses and manage an election process. Most men candidates have easy money to run elections than women. Infact, women cannot be financed by the male dominated financial institutions.

The electoral environment which is characterized by political thuggery, uncivil language and violence, all work to discourage women. Plato, Justice Chesoni added, once said: “Politics is about corrupt practices.” Corruption is a big obstacle and women shy away from corrupt practices, which are used during the electoral period thus giving advantage to men.

These obstacles, Justice Chesoni noted, should be eliminated to give equal opportunity to all political candidates to participate equally regardless of their gender. Indeed, Justice Chesoni noted, equality may be a right but no power on earth can turn it into a fact. It is therefore important to prove on the quality of equality when considering level playing ground on the basis of gender. True, time has come to give equal opportunities which would allow more women to participate in politics. However, Justice Chesoni observed, this is the real worry of men in Kenya.

Electoral Commission, noted Justice Chesoni, believes that the solution to this problem of establishing level playing ground is to come up with a code of conduct involving all political parties, candidates, agents and supporters of parties taking part in the elections. The code of conduct must be enforceable by sanctions. Violence must be both condemned

and avoided. Candidates, supporters and party agents shall adhere to the code of conduct and existing election laws and rules. It is important for all candidates to respect the rights of others. They should not break up political meetings or prevent speeches or destroy posters of other parties or candidates. No weapon shall be allowed in venues of political meetings. Why should male candidates carry Somali swords at political meetings while women candidates carry only handbags? asked Justice Chesoni. All offenders of the code of conduct must be punished by the Electoral Commission. Indeed, the Electoral Commission should require all parties and members to abide by the code of conduct.

The Electoral Commission should have power to exclude parties and individuals from participating in elections for misconduct.

The Electoral Commission is also considering alternatives to enact a code of conduct should parliament fails to enact one. Infact, the Electoral Commission has already suggested a code of conduct and electoral laws and rules which should be amended to create a level playing ground in electoral politics. The Commission is not getting a feedback from parliament. But, should parliament be reluctant to enact such laws, the Commission is considering alternatives to put in place a code of conduct before the next general elections.

The Commission, noted Justice Chesoni, must take firmer action than ever before, even at the risk of being taken to court by those opposed to its programmes. Chesoni assured women candidates that the Commission will enforce a formula that women candidates will find useful during the next general elections.

Quoting Charles De Gaulle, Chesoni observed that, "politics is too serious a matter, it should not be left to politicians". Therefore organizations such as the NCSW should lobby and pressurize for such changes through parliament and other available avenues. The commission will be ready to assist in any way for those women candidates who wish to test political waters for the first time or again.

The Commission, Chesoni concluded is available, and one is invited to discuss any information with members of the commission when parliament is dissolved. Chesoni noted that, perhaps politics is the only profession one would get into without any preparation. He wished prospective candidates good luck and success in elections. He ended by saying that election is like a violent love affair, you win it by showing that you are more loving. On this note, he declared the workshop officially opened.

The Moderator thanked Justice Chesoni for his thought provoking speech and invited some questions from participants. (See Chapter 2)

Paper Summaries

Jacqueline Oduol - USIU

Speakers are most effective if they catch the attention of the audience even before they start speaking. For this purpose, there is need to compose a song to be sung every time a woman speaker moves to the podium to speak.

Presentation - women speakers must pay attention to dress, gestulation, facial expression etc.

- Take control of your material. Know your stuff. Do the necessary research, have facts at hand. Have a clear mission or objective e.g. why do you want to be elected, and not anyone else?
- Know how you are going to introduce yourself and your subject e.g. are you going to start by giving a story, or a riddle or proverb etc?
- Get the people to listen to you objectively. Know people's attitudes and use them to get their attention.
- Take control of yourself. It is not natural to just get up and speak. Strive to appear relaxed and in full control of yourself.
- Voice projection: Ensure that you can speak to an audience everywhere there is no public address system. Do not underestimate the importance of relaxing.
- Take control of your audience. This is by far the most difficult task. Public speaking may be through the press, the television, the radio etc. It needs not be a public meeting.
- Use the media to get one's views heard now that there is no media in Kenya that voice agendas of specific parties.

Maria Nzomo - UON

- Women candidates have a lot of issues which need to be addressed.
- There is need for planning and to be guided by management principles; need for planning and strategising.
- People get into politics because they have a vision they want to realize or because they have a mission they want to achieve.
- One has to have a clear objective for standing, not merely alleging that "my people" told me to stand so I am standing.

- Candidates must decide the political platform that he/she wants to use e.g. which political party. Guidelines to this include knowledge of the parties' manifestos and structure.
- Need to have a clear vision of leadership e.g. does one want to lead as a Councillor or as an MP. You must make necessary plans and strategies to ensure that whatever position you go for, you fulfill the mandate of that position.
- Constituency building must be done well before the elections. It is part of strategic planning. Develop contacts with the constituency, know your constituents, know the issues that affect them. Give yourself enough time to acquire information on the constituency.
- Need to identify people who will manage your campaign - a core group - who will be with you through the campaign period viz loyal, committed, dedicated people etc. These people need to be identified long before the elections.
- Ensure you have gender sensitized and informed target voters. This is to be done through civic education. Ensure they understand the electoral process.
- Package issues for presentation to the electorate. Use as many strategies for campaigning e.g. leaflets, posters, door-to-door, joint campaigns etc.

Mary Kimonye - UON

- The need for fundraising is a derived need, derived from the need to put women in decision-making positions. There is therefore no choice: They have no choice but to fundraise.
- There is a strong link between gender issues and sustainable development. Women must therefore get into decision-making positions.
- To get an elective post is expensive. It becomes almost impossible for women who are traditionally disadvantaged. Women are not property owners and managers. That is why they are left behind by the male counterparts because of the traditional set-up.
- Need to explore possibilities of raising funds for political empowerment of women.

What is the objective for which funds are sought? What activities/tasks, need to be done to actualise your objectives? Break down these into realistic and attainable blocks e.g. rallies, posters, transport etc.

Identify how much each task is going to cost. Draw up a budget. Try to realistically allocate funds for the various tasks, as follows:

Sources:

- Individual/Family
- Donor agencies must be cautioned against because it might lead to dependency and even not sure how much or when it will come.
- Private/commercial companies
- Open harambees.
- Joint social events e.g. luncheons, dinner dances, jumbo sales, walk, have a women's day etc.
- Are these methods sustainable?
- Need to have a national fund for women for the sake of sustainability. Donors and companies do not want to deal with individuals. There is need for an institution such as the fund.
- The fund should be national and non-partisan etc. run by a Board of Trustees.

Resource Management

- There is need for *efficient* and *effective* resource management.
- Need to know how to *organise* and *manage* our resources.
- Women interact with national resources everyday in their daily activities. This is material and natural human resources. This therefore puts them in an advantageous position in resource management.
- Need to make a choice and spend resources on critical activities that bring results.
- Information as a resource - need to market women - public relations.

Wachira Maina - CCGD

- Create a more gender responsive electoral law. As it is, the law is not gender responsive as it stands.

The constitution:

- Equality of citizens - both men and women are equal according to the law. But to exercise this, one needs resources. e.g. voting it - the structures and organisations that exist are patriarchal so they exclude women even though in theory they are included.

- The law should treat women in the same way as men. The assumed neutrality of the law puts women in a disadvantageous position.
- Political parties and institutions are male-dominated, so when they treat women as being on an equal footing with men, they lead to unfairness.
- There's no requirement in law that the Electoral Commission represent our nationhood as far as men/women numbers are concerned.
- There is population disparity in the different constituencies. It should be possible to have a multiple constituency where the residents can elect more than one MP, preferably a man and a woman.
- When a foreign woman is married to a Kenyan, she automatically requires Kenyan citizenship but cannot vote unless she's been resident in the country for at least one year.
- Every candidate must be nominated by a political party. This appears gender-neutral yet the party structures are male-dominated and therefore they will not nominate women.
- The law says the President will form a government of (not from) his party. The 12 nominated MPs could be women and then they be appointed to cabinet positions.
- What is to be done?
 - i) Change the way elections are conducted. Dual-rolls - one for men and one for women.
 - ii) Composition of the Electoral Commission should represent the nation.
 - iii) Constituency should not be purely geographical. Other societal interests should be taken care of.
 - iv) Registration of voters - look at the seasonality of some activities e.g. if registration is done during planting season, then less women are likely to register.

Eness Chiyenge (Zambian High Commissioner)

During her contribution, the Zambian High Commissioner suggested the following:

- Women's struggle to gain equal participation not just because she is a woman but because she believes that the personhood of women

should be respected and appreciated.

- Greatly impressed and humbled by the efforts women in Kenya are making to deal with the problems they face in their everyday lives.
- It is an overwhelming task but we have to continue struggling.
- Need for candidates to participate in activities such as this one.
- Factors that contribute to women's marginalization:
Deep-rooted traditional values which have been inherited by the modern world.
- Though the workshop is intended for the short-term goal of capacity building for the 1997 elections, there is need to look beyond 1997 as the struggle will not end with the elections.
- Look into how suggested solutions can be actualized practically in order to realise the goals set.
- The problems identified and solutions suggested apply not only to Kenya but to the whole of Africa and perhaps the whole world.
- Women's participation in politics is important not only at the parliamentary level, but at the level of civic authorities. Therefore, there is great need to have more women candidates for both elections.
- Quality of women candidates:- not to assume that women will be elected simply because they are women. Need to have leadership qualities. Wished all prospective women candidates good luck and success. With these few remarks, the workshop was declared closed.

⁴Among these are a) density of the population and in particular the need to ensure adequate representation of urban and sparsely populated rural areas b) population trends c) the means of communication d) geographical features e) community of interest and d) the boundaries of existing administrative areas. Particularly significant is the statement that for the purpose of this subsection the *"number of inhabitants of any part of Kenya shall be ascertained with reference to the latest census of population held in pursuance of any law.* It might be useful to refer to the controversy surrounding the last census report, in particular to consider which communities had shown the fastest growth rates since the previous census and which ones had marked a fall in growth rates. Might this be used to argue for an increase in the number of constituencies in the areas in which the population showed the fastest growth? Might it also be used to deny additional constituencies to densely populated areas that did not show a marked population growth since the previous census?

⁵Supra note 1

Electoral Law: Towards a more Gender Responsive Electoral Environment

"Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of graveyard"
US Supreme Court Justice, Friedrick H. Jackson

Introduction

The first clause in our constitution declares Kenya a Republic. Not a monarchy. Not a dominion. In the broadest definition, a Republic connotes a state which is sovereign of other states and which is self-governing. Elsewhere in the text the Constitution the clause commits us to a democratic system of government. Though there are many pretenders to the title democracy there is now a broad consensus what it might mean to call a country democratic. As Dahl has pointed out "from ancient times... people have conceived of (democracy as a) political system in which the members regard one another as *political equals, are collectively sovereign*, and possess all the capacities, resources and institutions they need in order to *govern themselves*."¹

As people discuss what to do in order to deepen democracy, it has become evident that if it is the citizens that are sovereign, then it is critical that the power of citizenship be extended to all qualified adults, that is, those not disqualified by bankruptcy, incarceration and so on. However, while the constitution extends citizenship to all adult, men and women, in fact the power of both men and women to exercise the rights of citizenship is not equal. Women are constrained in the exercise of their franchises by institutional, administrative, legal and cultural barriers. This paper sketches some of these barriers and suggests some of the ways of getting rid of them in the women's franchise is to be made as powerful as the men's.

The constitutional background

It has been pointed out that the constitution does not outlaw discrimination on the basis of sex. That is true but I take for granted that even if the constitution outlawed sex discrimination, that would not of itself remove

sexist attitude and institutions. Therefore it seems to me that there is need to go beyond the law to the social and political practices.

Voters

The qualifications for registration of voters are set out in the constitution. No person is qualified to be registered as a voter unless he or she is a citizen of Kenya who has attained the age of 18 years. But that is not all. In order to participate in elections such a citizen must in addition have been ordinarily resident in Kenya for a period of not less than one year before the date of voter registration or for an aggregate of 4 years for the 8 years preceding the registration. In order to be able to vote in a particular constituency, one must demonstrate that he or she has been cumulatively resident in the constituency for a period of five months in the last twelve months. If he does not satisfy third duration residence requirements he may still be registered as a voter if he shows that in period he has carried on business there or he has been employed there or that he has for the same period lawfully been employed in such constituency or owns land or residential building there.

The rules relating to residence are usually called *durational residency requirements* and there are ordinarily intended to create sufficient connection with the electoral areas. The other rules regarding employment and property are essentially *property qualifications* and although our constitution theoretical extends full suffrage to all in fact the property qualifications given in section 43 give land and property owners, a majority of whom are men, more choice than women. Given the pattern of differential land and property ownership between men and women one of the ways of equalising the franchise is just to scrap the qualifications relating to ownership of land and property. I believe that this yet another example of the violation of the principle of equal citizenships between men and women.

Presidential elections

For a person to be qualified to be nominated as a candidate for presidency, he must be a, Kenyan citizen, b) has attained the age of 35 years and c) is registered in some constituency as a voter.

In addition to this qualifications, the presidential candidate must be nominated by a political party for that position. There are detailed rules regulating the nomination of the presidential candidates which are set out in the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act. Again this is

one of those provisions that pretend that men and women have equal opportunity to be president. The statement that they must be nominated by a political party just takes away this right. Political parties in Kenya, like we have said elsewhere, are gender and it is not likely that the general women's membership has the same opportunity to get to compete for the presidency.

Conduct, management and supervision of elections

Parliamentary elections

The overall legal management and supervision of elections is vested in the Electoral Commission. The detailed rules relating to the actual management and supervision of the general election are set out in the presidential and parliamentary elections regulations which are contained in the National Assembly and Presidential Elections Act. Amongst the things that the Election Commission is authorised to do under these rules is appoint returning officers for each constituency, to allot party symbols to political parties participating in elections, to establish, name, number and set locations for polling stations and to appoint presiding officers for each polling station.

However, these administrative matters are totally gender blind. The rules do not require the Electoral Commission to appoint election administrators that are reflective of our nation, including maintaining gender balance. Elections are not just about managing a process; there are also about what citizens feel about participating in the political affairs of their country. If the polling station is violent or unfriendly to women their capacity to participate freely is impaired.

From the polling station, the other area of concern is the counting hall. At the counting hall the candidates have a right to have their own counting agents present. There are regulations that provide for recounts. The general position is that the candidate or his counting agent who has been present at the counting has the right to demand a recount. After the process is complete the returning officer then certifies the result, puts in separate packets the valid and spoilt ballots and seals them.

Presidential elections

Although presidential elections must generally satisfy the same rules and regulations that are set out in the regulations referred to above there are

in addition certain peculiarities that are special to the presidential election.

First the presidential candidate must be nominated by not less than 1,000 persons registered as voters in the elections.

Second, in addition to winning the parliamentary set the presidential candidate must also win 25% of all the voter cast in five of the eight provinces.

Third if one candidate receives the requisite 25% but does not receive the electoral majority which goes to another candidate there shall be a run-off between the two and the winner of the run-off on a simple majority basis shall be president.

After election, the president then forms the government of the party that nominated him for the presidential election. The constitution says of, not from the party that nominate him to parliament. It does not therefore seem as a matter on interpretation that the president need form a government exclusively from the party that nominated him for president. Especially because cabinet ministers are not explicitly required by the law to be from the president's party. Thus for instance, if the president were to exercise his power of nominating 12 members of parliament and used those powers to nominate women from different political parties he or she can then nominate these as ministers. After all the nominated powers do not require that nomination MPs come from the president's party.

Policing the electoral process

Political and moral policing

By political and moral policing, I refer here to the work of election monitors. I call it political and moral policing because the primary desire of election monitoring is to bring political and moral pressure to bear on the process in order to stop electoral fraud. We do not have a firm statutory framework regulating the work of election monitors. Election monitors and their activities are regulated by the rules formulated by the Electoral Commission. Each group seeking to monitor election is required to seek accreditation from the Electoral Commission. It is important for them to get this accreditation because without it they will not get access to the polling station.

One of the areas of electoral fraud that is never addressed is the question

of structural fraud. From a gender perspective, this is where the real barrier to women's effective participation in elections lies. The requirement of party nomination, the structure of existing political parties traps women in current structures of patriarchal power. Attempts to get out by for example forming cross-solidarities with other women in different parties fall foul of our system which pretends to rule out coalition formation.

Judicial monitoring

By far the most important form of monitoring the electoral process is the judiciary. Under the constitution, the judiciary is given wide powers to monitor the entire electoral process starting from registration to actual election results.

Questions relating to whether a voter has been validly registered, about the content of the register, about whether a person has been validly nominated for elections or whether the person has been validly elected are all judicial questions.

One of the less remarked fact is that when elections are over, women rarely file petitions in court. The reason for this is twofold.

First, there is the expense of the whole business. Election petitions are a very expensive affair and the expense may be out of reach for many women candidates.

Second, and here I am voicing a suspicion. I am inclined to think that existing political parties are disinclined to file petitions on behalf of women candidates who have lost elections. It might be useful to find out from the women candidates themselves.

Gender dimension of the Kenyan Constitution

Constitutional provisions are on the face of it gender neutral. So is there need to change them? We begin the discussion with this point. The second part looks at the laws governing the elections themselves. This part is largely descriptive. It points out some of the areas that are covered by our laws and shows how the right to vote and participate in elections for women is hemmed in or secured by different laws. The idea is to inform as well as fill out the gaps.

Women and the right to vote

Law is gender. As Catherine Mackinon points out, the law sees and treats

women the way men see and treat women. So, too, with the right to vote for women. Think about it for a moment. The right to vote is hostage to a panoply of other rights and none of the most effective way of undermining the franchise is to undermine the enjoyment of those rights that make voting possible. These other rights include the freedom of association, of expression and of assembly together form the background to effective exercise of the franchise. However when one looks at the women's capacity to organise for elections, to participate effectively within existing political structure one finds it significantly hemmed in by both an ideology of patriarchy and institutional mechanisms that reflect and reproduce that ideology.

In other words, although the Constitution pretends to give the right to vote equally to every citizen, the structure of political institutions constitute a form of structural rigging against women. In other words the deck is stacked from the very beginning.

A look at the laws governing the elections

Having established that one cannot just assume that the fact that the law says that men and women have the right to vote is no ground for thinking that in fact both have the equal capacity to utilise the right. How about the other laws governing elections. Logically the subject is one that can be organised sequentially: we begin with the legal scheme regulating *the preparatory stages of the elections*. This will include a look at an array of laws including those governing the composition of the Electoral Commission, its mandate and independence; regulating creation of electoral districts, in our case constituencies; regulating qualifications for voters and finally setting down criteria for aspirants.

From the preparatory stages we move on to the actual elections. Here, we consider the two critical levels of *managing the electoral process*: *registration of voters and supervision of elections*. At a third level we consider the laws relating to *monitoring and policing the electoral process*. Here we consider two levels of policing. First, there is what one might consider *policing the balloting*. This covers all activities relating to work of election monitors and the rules regulating their accreditation. It also covers oversight monitoring. This would refer to the work of administrative agencies geared not especially to ensuring free and fair monitoring but rather guaranteeing that elections take place in an

atmosphere conducive to real choice. Here one might consider the actions of the police, the administration and other governmental actions.

More substantively there is the question of *policing the entire electoral process*. Here we look at the role of judicial policing. Finally, we look at select issues in electoral laws and politics. Two will be crucial here: the question of *election financing*, at individual and party level and the question of *equality of the competitors* both in the eyes of the law and also in terms of access to public fora.

Laws regulating the preparatory stages of the election

In considering the law relating to the general election there is a temptation to consider only the laws regulating the actual balloting. Though many people recognise the distillate of beginning the inquiry at such a stage they nevertheless feel that the composition of the Electoral Commission is something they have very little ultimate control over, particularly because of the official intransigence to the whole question of broadening the composition of the Electoral commission. Nevertheless, I feel that it is crucial to begin with a look at the Electoral Commission since manipulations at the level do affect the integrity of the entire electoral system.

Composition and Independence of the Electoral Commission

The constitution enacts that the Electoral Commission shall be made up of a chairman and not less than other 4 members appointed by the president. Thus the constitution sets only a minimum number and leaves the question of how many to the discretion of the president. The constitution does not set out any criteria for appointment. There is no requirement that the composition of the commission reflect our nation, including reflecting that we are a nation of both men and women. Since independence, the Electoral Commission has always been hugely dominated by men, sometimes exclusively so.

The Commission's powers to create electoral districts

Though the Electoral Commission has control over the number of constituencies into which the country is divided, the constitution is somewhat ambiguous about which organ as between the commission and parliament has final authority on the subject. Section 42(1) says that

Kenya shall be divided into "such number of constituencies as the Electoral Commission may prescribe." That is to be read in the context of subsection, (2). In that subsection the constitution says that parliament "may prescribe the minimum number of constituencies into which Kenya shall be divided." The use of the word may appear to give the impression that parliament does not have to prescribe any number of constituencies before the Electoral Commission gets down to creating new constituencies.

However, the same subsection 2 says that "the minimum number of constituencies shall be 188 and the maximum shall be 210." It would therefore appear that a proper interpretation of this section would be that parliament does not have to prescribe the minimum or maximum number of constituencies into which the country is to be divided. The Electoral Commission would still have the authority to create new constituencies. However, once parliament has set a ceiling and a floor the Electoral Commission is required to follow such limits. At present the floor is set at 188 and the ceiling at 210. The Electoral Commission can thus create only 22 additional constituencies.

What criteria does the Electoral Commission use to create new constituencies? The constitution provides that "all constituencies shall contain as nearly equal number of inhabitants" as appear to be reasonably practicable to the commissioner. The word appears to signal a mandatory requirement but the constitution allows the commissioner to depart from this principle and to take account of other factors.

Comments

Two things appear to me rather short-sighted about these provisions. For a start, the constitution does not link electoral boundaries to democratic deepening. If it did one of the things that would have to be considered is whether the principle of having constituency is a sensible one in all cases. When we insist that the geographical constituency is the site of making democracy functional, women will be permanently marginalised. I shall suggest ways of getting out of this fixation with the geographical constituency. There are in all countries significant constituencies which are not geographical: the disabled and non-geographical minorities. If electoral politics is fixed to geography some of these constituencies will never get represented.

The second short-sighted thing about these constitutional provisions is that they violate principle of *equality of citizenship*, which in ordinary

palance translates into "one person, one vote" animates the constitution's commandment that the primary criteria to be taken into account in the creation of new constituencies is population. Legislators, as Chief Justice Warren points out,⁵ represent people not trees or economic interests. In this regard it is important to review the general electoral profile of constituencies in Kenya and to see how well they sit with this important constitutional commandment.

It is now generally recognised that the constituency profiles are badly skewed in favour of districts considered dependable supporters of the ruling party. The rift periphery districts of Turkana, Samburu and West Pokot have a total of 170,000 registered voters. Out of this number of voters they have a total of eight parliamentary seats. The total registered voters in these districts compared easily with the total registered voters population of Mathare constituency which has about 160,000 registered voters. The smallest constituency in Nairobi has 48,000 voters. This is Westlands. The national average of registered voters per constituency is 42,000. If the urban and rural seats were to be distributed equally Nairobi would have 16 instead of 8 parliamentary seats that it currently has.

But an aspect of equality of citizenship is the fact that the vote not only must be equal. The representation also must be equal. In situations where tradition, law and institutions sunder the effective representation of certain groups then the law ought to offer some remedy by enhancing representation of such groups for example through set aside programmes and affirmative action. This is clearly obvious in the case of the representation of women.

Registration of voters

Aside from creating electoral districts the electoral commission is also mandated with the duty of registering voters and maintaining the voters register. This general power is exercised subject to the restrictions that are detailed in the national assembly and presidential elections act. In the act it is clear that:

- a) No person should be registered as an elector in more than one constituency.
- b) No person may be registered more than once in the same register of voters.

If one violates any of the above provisions one commits an offence and may be jailed for a period not exceeding 6 months and or be fined five thousand shillings.

One of the real problems with the registration exercise is that it is done during designated times. There is no consideration of seasonality of activities in the rural areas for instance. This is a matter of crucial importance to women's participation in elections. If the registration exercise comes in the middle of the harvest season or in the cultivating period their capacity to register in large numbers is severely constrained.

Chapter 6

Women Candidates in Electoral Politics: Strategic Planning and Management of a Political Campaign

Introduction

Why build capacity of women candidates

If men find it difficult to come to parliament, the women's situation can be explained by paraphrasing a biblical saying, "it is easier for an elephant to go through the eye of a needle than for a woman to come to parliament." (Daily Nation: 30 April 1988:6).

Even if everything was equal and fair in electoral politics securing votes is tough at best for all candidates, but much more so for women who face additional obstacles to participation in politics. Women's gross under-representation in political decision-making positions all over the world underscores the special obstacles they encounter in political participation. These include:

- the dominance of the male culture in the political structure and discourse,
- male resistance to political power sharing with women,
- the socio-cultural conditioning and gender stereo-typing of the roles of women (as being in the private sphere) and of men (as being in the public sphere)
- lack of economic independence and multiple roles and burdens of women.

Despite the numerous obstacles to women's political participation, women in Kenya now recognise that their participation in political decision-making capacities is essential both for their own empowerment and as for the advancement of society as a whole. Women indeed have the right and responsibility as citizens to participate actively in politics and other forms of public life. Gender equity and justice are fundamental prerequisites for true democracy and sustainable development.

Since 1992, Kenyan women NGOs have made concerted efforts to help empower women politicians through *inter alia*, training programmes for capacity building. Training and other forms of support to women candidates contributed to their improved performance in the 1992 first multiparty elections in Kenya. But many obstacles to women's political participation are still in place. There is therefore dire need for intensifying civic education programmes for building the capacity of women candidates and voters. In this connection, one of the key areas that need to be addressed in any training programme & strategic planning.

Political campaign management and strategic planning: an overview

"Money alone does not win elections, it does not guarantee success in an election contest; nor can a good name, charisma, heroic deeds, support by prominent personalities, good works, social status or rank. In fact, no single factor or quality in a candidate can guarantee success in an election: being rich and a generous spender, being strong, energetic and dynamic, being intelligent and educated, having a good reputation and public image, having an amiable personality and character, being a good public speaker or orator or having any other such attribute."

(A.K. Gitonga: 13)

An effective election campaign must have a master strategy or plan. Often, a combination of campaign strategies have to be adopted, to maximize the chances of winning an election contest. There are also many aspects of management that must be addressed in a political campaign to attain the desired objective of winning elections. These must include financial, human and time factors. For an effective and efficient campaign, the candidate needs to be guided by clear and well thought out management principles and campaign strategies. Some of the key factors to be considered should include the following:

- Development of a clear *vision* and *mission* for Seeking Political Office.
- Choice of an appropriate *political platform* or *political vehicle* that fits in with the candidates's vision and mission.
- Choice of *level* and *nature* of *political leadership* being sought e.g. Presidency, MP, Councillor etc.
- *Constituency building*: What strategic planning is needed to attain

- What is the level and nature of political leadership that you are seeking to provide and why?

If a candidate is clear about her/his vision and mission, and is convinced that her/his vision is shared broadly by her/his target electorate, then she/he can proceed with the rest of the campaign planning and management.

Strategic timing and time management

The candidate must decide in good time to run for political office, preferably at least 2-3 years before the next election. The prospective candidate must also decide on when to embark on the *informal* election campaign. Some prospective candidates may start campaigning a few years or months before the election. In these regards, it helps to remember that it is politically unwise and risky to embark on a political campaign before adequate planning has been carried out.

Effective use of time calls for careful *time planning*. There is therefore a need to determine in advance all the tasks to be carried out and allocate time to each. Much time may be wasted as a result of poor planning. For example, if a candidate goes to a public rally without proper planning and ends up saying the wrong thing, much more time will be needed to correct the negative impression. Every hour spent in effective planning and determining key objectives, priorities and imposing deadlines on self, saves several hours of execution and achieves better results.

It is also important to realise that in an election campaign, few strategically planned activities may produce the greater bulk of results than numerous unplanned tasks. If, for example, a candidate spends a day trying to persuade a strategically placed group leader to support her, she is likely to get more supporters through the group leader, than if the candidate spent the same time convincing several individuals who represent nobody but themselves.

It is also important to focus on expected results from planned activities, in allocating candidate's time. Many political candidates spend too much time attending functions, that may be totally unrelated to achieving the goal of winning elections.

Much time is often wasted because of *undecisiveness*. Many people will delay making important decisions waiting for total information. While it is important to have as much information as possible before making a decision, if one waits to get 100% information before making a decision, then no decision will ever be made.

Other areas of time management require delegation to others those

tasks that the candidate does not have to do personally. And finally, it is time wasting to attempt to solve all problems. Some problems left alone tend to resolve themselves.

Appropriate and adequate information

A candidate should not embark on the campaign trail with information based on guesswork or bits and pieces of incomplete facts and half truths. Accurate information on the target voters, the geography and socio-economic situation of the constituency, and the profile of other contesting candidates in the same constituency, is absolutely essential in planning an election campaign. A woman candidate in an election campaign must therefore spare time and other resources and invest them first in gathering information about the constituency.

The recruitment of campaign team

A successful election campaign is also highly dependant on the quality and competence of the campaign manager and the rest of the team, who must possess undivided loyalty and allegiance to the candidate, have a thorough knowledge of the target constituency and people and have adequate political campaign skills that would enable them to mobilize and gain support for their candidate from different types of voters, while at the same time being able to employ a variety of strategies and tactics at various levels and phases of the campaign process.

The strategic management challenge here is to ensure that the right people are doing the right jobs. It is for example wasteful to have a very good campaign activist being tied to a task that does not involve direct and actual campaigning. Once the right people have been selected for various tasks, the next challenge is to motivate them to work as a team and to co-operate with you in getting the objectives achieved.

Developing a strong and cohesive campaign team is a crucial element in the campaign process, as it is this team that help to "sell" the candidate to the majority of voters who may have no opportunity to have a personal relationship with the candidate. Hence the energy, conviction and confidence the management team portray, will largely influence how the candidate is perceived by many voters. The candidate must therefore treat the campaign management team as partners in the campaign process. The team must want the candidate to win the elections as much as the candidate wants to win.

The candidate then needs to choose his/her campaign team very

carefully, and thereafter cultivate their loyalty and commitment through respect and open dialogue. In this regard, communication is a strategic tool. As long as the candidate keeps talking to the campaign team, the latter will keep talking to the voters.

Resource Management

The candidate must plan the expenditure of resources allocated to the campaign. The decision on what amounts are deployed at the beginning, the middle and towards the end of the campaign, may be quite critical in winning an election. A good campaign strategy is one in which the candidate strategically distributes the money available throughout the campaign period. This is not to say that it should be evenly distributed but that there must be careful planning for tasks to be performed at the beginning, the middle and towards the end of the campaign period. Hence, a candidate needs first to be clear about the functions to be carried out during the campaign period and work out estimates of total campaign budget before allocating the money available to the major tasks.

Furthermore, periodical review of expenditure against pending financial campaign needs is a must. Continuous review of expenses incurred against the tasks accomplished and those pending, will help determine whether expenditures on the earlier stages of the campaign process have been extravagant or too cautious. It may also point to the possibility of needing more funds than what is available, and therefore giving early signals on the financial states of the campaign. This may help to modify the campaign strategy in good time.

Identifying and packaging of relevant campaign issues

Another important aspect of planning a successful electoral campaign is the careful choice of relevant campaign issues. The mode of packaging relevant issues would to a large extent determine whether the target voters comprehend and get convinced by the message thereby communicated to them.

Thus in determining, what issues are relevant for each candidate's campaign, then more specificity is required. This is so because, the specific circumstances and needs for the various constituencies differ. There are some areas of the country for example, especially those in the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL), where water is the most important issue for the local people. This may not be so in other parts of the country where in a

relative sense, water is available within close proximity to the people. In another constituency, the major problem or issue may be poor *infrastructure*, or shortage of *schools* and *health clinics*. It is the duty of each candidate and her campaign team to do adequate and thorough research in advance, in order to determine what are the most pressing needs and problems of the local community and consequently work out a programme for addressing these problems, if elected into a civic or parliamentary position.

Having determined what the relevant campaign issues are for the individual campaign, the next step is to package those issues. Much of what we have discussed in the preceding sections alludes to the question of packaging campaign issues. Packaging refers both to the way issues in the campaign hang together in a cohesive, systematic and logical manner, as well as to the ordering of the same issues in terms of their priority. The order in which the issues are arranged would in turn determine, when, and how they are addressed during the campaign. The most important issues should be on top of the list in terms of both arrangement and the resources invested in them. What issues are more important than others, will vary depending on the specific circumstances of a given constituency. This is why comprehensive information gathering about the constituency during the planning stage of the campaign, is so critical, as it becomes invaluable in identifying and prioritising campaign issues.

The campaign process: levels of message delivery

Having worked out a good campaign strategy, the next phase is the campaigning itself.

A good and potentially successful campaign should be conducted at various levels, which should coincide with the nature of the issues being addressed. In this regard, one can identify at least three levels of conducting a campaign.

- i) The material or economic level where the issues being addressed with have to do with the voter's economic circumstances, sometimes called the "bread and butter" issues of people's everyday existence. Here the candidate will have to address issues touching on production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services, as well as physical facilities and equipment that are necessary for production to take place.

The task of the candidate at this material level is to demonstrate

convincingly to the target voters that their economic welfare will change or improve if elected. The candidate must be able to present to the electorate a convincing programme or agenda that leaves them with no doubt that, if elected, she would tackle all manner of past material deprivations and sufferings: poverty, hunger disease, illiteracy, and exploitation. For the voters to be convinced by such a message, the candidate must demonstrate practically that she/he is committed to the economic welfare of the people. She/he is committed to the economic welfare of the people. She/he must have a record of contributing "generously" to local harambee projects etc.

- ii) The Social Level: The social level of the campaign is that part of the campaign which takes into account the fact that each individual in a constituency belongs to one or more groups of one kind or another. Each person in the constituency will be found to be a member of families, clans, tribal or racial communities, religious denominations, professional associations individuals, trade unions, etc. Within each group, the individual member plays a particular role, occupies a particular position and performs a particular task(s).

The candidate therefore would need to arrange strategically the individuals and groups in her constituency in their order of importance for the campaign and give the highest priority to the most important ones, when allocating limited resources (in form of money, time and energy). The more important any of the groups is in terms of the objectives of the campaign, the more the amount of resources that should be invested in attending to its priorities. The importance of social institutions should be based on at least the following considerations:

- The number of people it affects or concerns
 - The seriousness with which it affects them
 - The frequency with which it affects them
- and the value of any special contribution in a given institution can make to the campaign.

The candidate at this level of the campaign needs to bear in mind that the aim of the social campaign is to demonstrate to the voters, preferable through the leaders and peers in the key social institutions, that she has the approval and support of the entire community. Thus, the importance of any issue in the social campaign depends on the importance of the institution which it touches. The more important the institution, the more

important any issue connected with it should to be regarded. Conversely, the less important an institution is for campaign purposes, the less important any issue to do with it should be considered.

With this in mind, and given limited resources, the challenge is to choose groups or organizations to invest resources that will most effectively maximize her chances of winning the social part of the election campaign.

For example, a woman candidate may need to pay particular attention to women's groups and organizations in her constituency, as the majority of voters are women. The religious institution is also an important one in any part of Kenya, and hence no candidate should ignore it.

The personal and gender level of the campaign

(a) Image building

The image projected to the voters by a candidate through personality and physical traits may significantly influence voter's responsiveness to the candidate's campaign message and may make or break a candidate bid to win an election. In other words, it matters whether for example, voters perceive a candidate as an honest or dishonest person, a selfish or a generous individual. It is therefore very important for a candidate to know what traits of her body, character and personality to present to the voters in the course of campaigning. In other words, a candidate must learn how to manage his/her public image and reputation, in a manner that leads to her being accepted, admired, liked and even loved. The aim of the personal campaign then is to make the voters have positive feelings towards the candidate. The candidate should exploit all the positive aspects of personality, physical constitution and appearance, character and personality. In so doing, the candidate's objective is to create a person-to-person relationship between herself and each voter as an individual. Ultimately, the candidate's aim should be to win the voter's trust and acceptance, as someone they can rely upon to represent them in a political decision making position.

(b) Gender level of campaign

As already noted, women face special obstacles as they attempt to enter into politics and to compete alongside men for elective positions. And because of the cultural norms that society has internalised to the effect that women cannot make good leaders, a woman's political campaign is invariably more coloured by her gender and hence more difficult than a

man's, as she has to prove that she is a better candidate than the male one and that there is an important and special contribution she can make if elected into political office.

Thus, while occasionally voters may wonder if a male candidate is tough enough to hold office, women office seekers are always expected to prove their competence, strength and experience. They have to walk a tight rope between reassuring the voters about their toughness, and at the same time not appearing too aggressive. Women are also judged more harshly than men for showing emotion in public. Factors such as personal appearance tend to colour voter's perceptions about female candidates far more than male candidates. Hair styles, height, weight, dress and general grooming of the female candidate may be given more attention than the message she is delivering. Women also experience more than men an assault on their personal integrity.

A woman candidate must be strong and confident enough to withstand these and other challenges that she is likely to encounter in a political campaign. She must be able to withstand the gender specific mudslinging that accompanies and election campaign and she must learn not to respond emotionally to personal attacks because emotional outbursts are likely to be used against her, as excellent examples of the woman's inability for leadership. It is here that a woman candidate can exploit her inborn traits of patience, perseverance and avoidance of confrontation. These characteristics are in themselves a big plus for women as compared to men.

A women's message to her target voters as stated earlier, must bear a different twist and tone from that of her male counterparts. Here again, what may at first appear as a disadvantage could be turned into her own advantage. In other words, in trying to impress upon the voters that she can make more contributions than a male candidate if elected, a woman has the golden opportunity, to capitalize on the many issues or area, where clearly women as women, have demonstrated more competence and concern than men. The major issues areas where women all over the world have been proven to make a more district contribution than men include: health, economy, violence environment, and population. The role of women in these areas, even without the benefit of political power on their side, is generally accepted. Hence in a campaign situation, all that a woman candidate needs to do is to expound on the strategy of programme that she has prepared to ensure those issue areas are addressed and action taken, if she is elected into political office.

The other distinct advantage that a woman candidate can employ to

maximize her chances of winning an election, is her existing networks in the women's organizations and groups. Many male power contenders lack such networks. Indeed, they end up manipulating women's networks to help their campaign victory. They literally buy women's voters. A woman candidate has a distinct advantage here, as she herself may be a member of several of these groups. A woman candidate should indeed exploit all the networks she is affiliated with including family networks. Indeed, for a woman candidate, her best support team is her family.

For the sake of those voters who may not be convinced that a woman's closeness and involvement in the issues enumerated above necessarily makes her a better leader than a man, she may have to employ another line of argument. For example, she may need to explain such skeptical voters that women's increases participation in decision making at all levels, does not only benefit the women, but also their families and society at large. Because of the roles women already play in society in areas of environment, health, education, population etc, greater participation of women in decision making capacities, is a way of lifting people out of poverty, reeducating population growth and protecting the environment. In summary, it is a way to get on a path of equitable and sustainable development.

Another argument that a woman candidate can use is that women's leadership style brings into politics a positively different but enriching perspective. Women's creativity, problem solving, management and decision making skills, abilities would definitely improve on the character of politics. A counter argument may be raised to the effect that women's leadership activities take place at the household level and hence cannot be regarded as of relevant to high level national politics. A woman candidate should then respond quite confidently that the personal is also political and that the traditional dichotomy between the private and public sphere is as misleading as it is unrealistic. Political activity takes place at all levels and in all spheres of one's life.

Training methodologies

Training for capacity building of women candidates can take several forms, depending on the issues and locality of the training.

In regard to training in campaign management and strategic planning, the training could initially take the form of workshops located at the constituencies where the candidates are seeking political office. Participants should include all the candidates for that constituency, the campaign management teams and a sample of the target voters. The

training should be highly participatory, allowing most of the time for open dialogue between candidates and their supporters. The role of the trainers should be to raise pertinent issues and suggest a broad framework for guiding group discussions among participants.

Final recommendations and Plan of Action should therefore emanate from the results of these group discussions.

A second stage in the process of training for capacity building of women candidates should take the form of stimulation exercises to test the readiness of candidates, campaign team and target voters, for the actual campaign and voting process.

To ensure maximum effectiveness, no more than two topics should be discussed within an eight-hour day. Hence, if the training has four major aspects to be addressed, then the training should be allocated two and a half days, to allow half a day for formalities and warming up that normally occur on the first day.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is clearly evident that for a woman to succeed in electoral politics, she needs an adequate campaign master strategy or plan of action. Such a strategy should address all aspects of the campaign, including information gatherings, packaging relevant issues, management and distribution of resources, and the recruitment of a dedicated and competent campaign team. But in order to devise appropriate campaign strategies, a candidate needs to identify and to understand the implication of the many dimensions and complexities of an election campaign. An election campaign, therefore, requires the knowledge and mastery of a wide range of aspects of campaigning if the exercise is to have maximum chances of success.

The ultimate test, however, of the adequacy of a campaign strategy is measured by its ability to get the campaign message across to the target voters and to convince them to vote for you rather than any of your opponents. This in turn requires that a candidate must master the techniques of effective communication in public rallies as well as the press and electronic media, and be able to present the message simply in a language the target voters understand. Particular attention should also be paid to timing in the delivery of the message for maximum effect. More importantly, the message must be of immediate relevance and interest to the electorate. The major task of the candidate in this respect is to convince the voters that she is the most suitable person to represent them in parliament or civic position. For a woman candidate, this is

perhaps the most challenging and important aspect of the campaign. Not only does she have to prove that she is a better candidate than her opponent, she has also to convince a gender biased and skeptical electorate that she as a woman, can make a special positive contribution in political decision making arena, than her male opponents.

In other words, the woman candidate must therefore belief in herself and her abilities before se can convince her electorate that she can make more significant contributions than a male candidate, in certain areas of political decision making. Self belief is critical in influencing the confidence of others. Positive thinking and self confidence are a critical personal resources that cannot be replaced by management principles.

The candidate overall campaign task can therefore be summarized as follows:

- i) To get her campaign message received and understood by as many voters as possible.
- ii) Through her message, to persuade more people to vote for her than any of her rivals.

Defeating the opponent then is the ultimate test of a campaign strategy so that, no matter how good a campaign a candidate conducts, she can still loose the election if another candidate conducts an even better campaign.

Finally it also needs to be underscored that *Politics* is the struggle for power. Women must be prepared to face the challenges of political struggle and ultimately political leadership. No doubt women are endowed with very special leadership qualities; but they have the confidence and courage to exploit those potential qualities to score an electoral political victory.

Communication Skills and the Art of Public Speaking in Electoral Political Campaigns

Introduction

Kenya held its last elections in December 1996 and six women were elected into parliament. They won the elections. But other women who had declared their candidature and campaigned for civic and parliamentary seats lost the elections. They were beaten by other candidates.

Since then, there has been a lot of discussion about why things turned out this way. Some people believe that the six women candidates won because:

- they were rich and spent a lot of money on the campaign;
- they were supported by big people;
- they had brought a lot of development to the areas in which they stood;
- their campaign was well organized;
- they had impressive personalities and were good public speakers.

(Gitonga, 1991:1)

Although this kind of analysis is a bit oversimplified, almost making politics and election results look arbitrary and accidental, it makes a valid point. There is a clear pattern and utilization of specific techniques in a successful campaign process. It is indeed possible for a political candidate, male as well as female, to acquire skills that can enable them to take control of the election process and make people choose him or her. As Gitonga (1991) says, there is "a logic and a pattern in the whole process".

What a female candidate who would like to win the 1997 elections needs to do therefore is to understand this pattern, identify the expertise and skills necessary to actualise the process and work towards perfecting those she has and acquiring those she doesn't have.

The National Commission on the Status of Women in this preparatory capacity building workshop for women candidates has identified a number

of issues crucial to this pattern. These are:

- Electoral laws and procedures; practical prospects for free, fair and gender sensitive elections.
- Strategic planning and management of a political campaign: the gender dimension of electoral politics in Kenya.
- Fund-raising techniques and resource management: A needs assessment for the 1997 elections.
- Communication skills and the art of public speaking in electoral politics campaign.

In this paper, I examine the importance of communication skills and the art of public speaking to women candidates. I also attempt to demonstrate how successful handling of this issue in the context of electoral campaigns can affect the nature of elections. Finally, I suggest some practical ways of tackling major problems in communication which can form the basis for a capacity building program for women in public speaking skills.

Communication skills and the art of public speaking

Communication is a process of exchanging ideas or feelings. It is a complex process that involves several stages before one can be sure that the message sent has been received and correctly interpreted by the receiver. It is further complicated by cultural and emotional issues.

The important communication skills that one needs to master are writing, reading, speaking and listening. A female candidate who wants to win elections in 1997 will need to use all the four skills to "recruit or mobilise supporters in competition or rivalry with another person or group" (bid:3). She will need to write, read, speak and listen with the specific goal "not only to win supporters, but also to win more supporters than her rival, competitors or opponents."

With specific regard to public speaking, the female candidate needs to cultivate a high level of command of listening and speaking skills so that she can systematically win the support and vote of the electorate. She needs to identify influential persons in her constituency and ensure that they know she is a caring person who is committed to active listening and straightforward talk and therefore a two way communicator.

In this way, she will be able to identify the needs of her constituency, what she can do for them and why she wants them to elect her. With good communication skills and public speaking techniques, a female

candidate would be able to transform the apparent chaos and confusion that appears to characterise election campaigns into a series of unfolding events that will most definitely determine whether she will win or lose.

Major Barriers to Effective Communication

Given the complex nature of the communication process, it is particularly important for a candidate relying on platform politics as a means of recruiting followers to carefully plan and prepare for the delivery of her presentation. When doing this, she should prepare specific strategies for addressing the major factors that constrain effective communication. I give examples of some of the major factors that constrain effective communication. I give examples of some of the major barriers to effective communication in what follows. I also try to indicate how by taking control of her material, herself and her audience, the female candidate can address these issues and be assured of her electorates' support. These barriers include: • defensiveness, • gender, • age, • religion, • world view, • values and • beliefs, • prejudices, • different ways of using and interpreting the non-verbal code • different ways of constructing messages, • failure to analyse needs of the audience, • poor listening and lack of attention to feedback, • assuming that the receivers know more than they do, • different cultural backgrounds, too many people to pass the message from sender to receiver, • poor feedback, • insensitive or poor choice of language by sender or receiver, • poor encoding or decoding of a message, • use of wrong channel of communication, • wrong emphasis of information so receiver does not know what the most important parts of a message are, messages that are too packed to interpret and process, • messages that are too thin so that listeners become bored, • different perceptions of situations and • meanings of messages. (Fielding 1993:16)

Taking control of one's material

A candidate needs to recruit followers in order to be elected into a position of leadership. She needs to be clear and confident of her ideas, proposals, policies and interests and convince others to support her. By clearly defining her objective or mission when elected into office, a candidate can command a large following. It is extremely important for candidates who use public fora to solicit support to distinguish between their *intended assignment as members of parliament or councilors* and their *mission or objective when elected*. This distinction must then be conveyed to the audience at the beginning of the presentation, in what is usually

known as *prime time*.

Candidates often lose support, some of which they might already have acquired because of their failure to let their audience know what they are talking about and much more importantly, how they will operationalise what they are proposing.

Kenyans are full of promises made by politicians about development during their campaigns. Usually in public presentations, candidates either adopt a positive approach where they promise to deliver all sorts of projects in specific areas such as education, health, and agriculture, or they adopt a negative approach where they concentrate on destroying their opponents. They fail to present their audience with their specific objectives or issues, in other words the reason for saying that it is education, or health, or agriculture that is important.

It is extremely important that female candidates spend time in discovering the different political and development issues that affect their constituencies. It is also important that they gather as much information as possible on the different issues. Finally, the female candidate must then decide what she wants to achieve when she takes up the platform in a political campaign. She must decide whether she wants to inform, to educate or challenge her audience. She must also decide what the most important examples to give are as well as what she would want to emphasise. When she takes up the platform then, she must ensure that the audience knows during the opening who she is, what she stands for and what they would gain or lose by not electing her. This objective can be achieved by arousing the interest of the audience through for instance, a story that they can relate to, by preparing them to listen objectively through pointing out some of the misconceptions about female participants, and by preparing the audience to listen intelligently.

Taking control of oneself

Addressing a public rally is not a natural phenomenon and invokes varying degrees of uncertainty and nervousness in most people. This is more so for the female candidate who is usually doubly disadvantaged first by the unnaturalness of this situation and secondly prejudices and different perceptions of her role and capacity because of cultural values.

The female candidate who seeks to influence her audience to support her must therefore, present herself in a way that can reassure her audience, despite their different world views and different ways of interpreting non-verbal messages.

The Kenyan public regards politics as a difficult task that calls for

different degrees of coercion, violence, inflicting of pain, injury or even death. Since these activities tend to be associated with masculine traits, the public tends to look at women with political aspirations with some amount of suspicion or apathy. Furthermore, they believe that the culture of politics played in Kenya is so corrupt that anybody who associates with it has a personal agenda, usually at their expense.

It is therefore extremely important that the female candidate in Kenya takes control of herself, her nerves and her body language in order to capture the interest of her audience and make her campaign, their campaign. This can be done by using different techniques including objectifying the elements that haunt one as a woman. That little voice that keeps whispering in your ear that although you are good, you will not be able to cope with all the gossip about your involvement with your campaign managers and other leading political figures; that you will not be able to handle the dirty manipulation of your rival or the local administration personnel, that you will not be able to cope with demands made on you as a politician, a mother and perhaps a wife. This candidate can also create an atmosphere of trust and encourage the audience to value her as an individual rather than as a representative of the female culture by her manner of dress, posture, eye contact and a friendly but firm approach to the audience. At public presentations, there are very many potential buyers of your campaign ideas although they will be having different attitudes and assumptions. The significance of the image projected by the female in this circumstance can therefore not be underestimated. This is because the body dances to the tune of one's message and state of mind. If one is confident she will be relaxed and spontaneous in her use of gestures.

Another important technique that is often ignored by candidates making public presentations concerns the need to rehearse. Because communication is such a complex process, and because one can never really be sure how what one is trying to say is perceived by an audience, it is important to rehearse before making a presentation. It is particularly important to rehearse the opening of one's speech. This can be done in the presence of a small company of friends or a small group of impartial participants. Any female who intends to win support through public speaking should visit neighbours, college students, community activists, schools, religious groups and other listening groups not only for the purpose of discovering the issues that concern them but also to test her lines on them.

Taking control of the audience

This is definitely the most challenging task to be faced by a female presenter who is involved in platform politics. As a direct result of societal values and beliefs about the woman and her place in society, the female candidate must take control of her audience if she is to make any impact. We are all familiar with events where female speakers have been subjected to all manner of humiliations, ranging from abusive language to physical harassment, heckling to aggressive and difficult questions. We are also familiar with cases where people have walked out of a meeting because they had too little information or too much for them to interpret or process, when in fact they were just indifferent to a female speaker.

The Kenyan public would like to have a political leadership that can make things work. They are generally sceptical about the ability of the available leaders to do this and perceive the election process either as a personal favour to the candidate or as an official duty required by the government. They attend political rallies with a similar sense of cynicism and apathy. Where the candidate is female, there is usually a low turnout due to the negative attitude towards women and political leadership. The absence of other women campaigners tends to make the situation more difficult.

An indispensable technique to a female political candidate is to analyse her audience and use the knowledge about their composition and expectations to get them 'hooked' to her agenda. One must never get on the platform to campaign without knowing who is in the audience on the basis of parameters such as age, religion, gender, political affiliation, cultural background and values.

It is also important to determine what the audience already knows, what they want to know, what they need to know and what interests them. The candidate must also know the *'language'* of her audience. This is not just Kiswahili, English or the first language of the community. It also includes the issues that are central to the discourse in a given constituency. A candidate would need to understand what and who frames the debate for her audience. Do they talk about education, health, water or women's developments? Are they for or against women politicians?

In order to arouse and keep their interest, the speaker would need to meet them by not only speaking their language but by giving their example and analogies. The speaker should be aware of personal stories about victims and beneficiaries of her issues and should use these stories to illustrate her point. It is thus necessary to keep the story clear and geared

to the audience. Should she decide to use visual aids in the form of a slogan or party symbol they would have to be 'big, bold and brilliant' and sensitive to the interests of the audience.

A female candidate engaged in platform politics must also use her voice to control her audience. She would need to vary her voice in volume, pitch and speed. She would need to use emphasis, pause and repetition for effect. A candidate should never lose sight of her issues and what she is offering the audience if elected into office. This bottom line should come through systematic repetition. It should also be conveyed by the use of powerful language that in itself indicates some achievement. As already stated, this would be the language of the audience.

A final technique that the female public presenter in a political campaign must master is how to handle questions. In this regard, it is important to remember that very many things such as noise, cultural assumptions, values and attitudes, emotional state and past experience can interfere with the interpretation of a message. Moreover, the process of communication is never really complete until the audience provides feedback. This feedback can be in the form of questions.

Given the sensitivity and emotive nature of platform politics for women in particular, the candidate should never leave all the questions to the end. Thus, it may be useful to call for questions at the end of each key item in one's speech and before the summary. One must never forget that when people raise questions, they are usually trying to sort themselves out and in a way give the speaker a second chance to make a point or clarify issues.

It is also important to avoid getting involved in personal disagreements with anyone who raises a question. When you are presented with an aggressive or difficult question that perhaps doubts your suitability on flimsy grounds or femininity, remember that you do not have to take on all the pressure yourself. You could in this context take the question and make it open for discussion and have someone else including the questioner answer it. You can also take the question from the questioner but answer everyone, not just the one who raised it.

The role of the media

The media is one of the powerful agenda setting institutions. *The media and its messengers powerfully influence the public in any society. Public opinion is formed, aroused and shaped by the media (Strategic Media).*

Although the degree of influence and coverage varies in developed and developing countries, and depends on the ownership and freedom

provided, the female candidate cannot afford to ignore the media. She must therefore develop the technique of using the media to gain visibility with her constituents and general public. As Daniel Schorr, commentator, National Public Radio once said, "if you don't exist in media, for all practical purposes, you don't exist." When a female candidate takes to the platform to sell her political agenda through public presentation, she must remember that the media is an avenue through which she can reach a larger target audience in the country. She must also remember that the masses are fickle and could easily be swayed by information from the media.

Women politicians therefore need to understand how things work in the present circumstances in order to utilise the media in their political campaigns. They can then operate within the existing laws without changing the status quo as an immediate strategy and network with other women and influential personalities to change the status quo where necessary in the long term.

The press in many countries have ties with particular political parties that sell their agenda. This makes it relatively easy for candidates on specific tickets to break news, frame the discourse or debate on their campaign issues; participate in interviews, provide background interviews that can be used by reporters to clarify issues without being quoted directly; hold off-the-record discussions that are not quoted attributed to the candidate or even used in an article but which nonetheless shed light on a politician's issue.

Women candidates operating in Kenya have to recognise the limitations of the press in the country. Because of government control, television and radio networks are not free to sell the political agendas of different candidates. Although in our context the radio is considered the best source of breaking news as it has the highest capacity to reach the public, there are at the moment tight controls in the licensing of privately owned radio stations. These limit considerably the extent to which female candidates can reach out to the masses in this multi-party phase of our political life. It is with this factor in mind that it is valid to state that the print media currently represent a viable alternative for reaching out to the literate voters.

It is true that some journalists in Kenya can be induced to sell the political agenda of specific people, and this is a widely held belief, female candidates should have little reservation in using third channel to establish personal contacts and sell their stories through these journalists. It would be important for the candidates to remember however that the target

provided, the female candidate cannot afford to ignore the media. She must therefore develop the technique of using the media to gain visibility with her constituents and general public. As Daniel Schorr, commentator, National Public Radio once said, "if you don't exist in media, for all practical purposes, you don't exist." When a female candidate takes to the platform to sell her political agenda through public presentation, she must remember that the media is an avenue through which she can reach a larger target audience in the country. She must also remember that the masses are fickle and could easily be swayed by information from the media.

Women politicians therefore need to understand how things work in the present circumstances in order to utilise the media in their political campaigns. They can then operate within the existing laws without changing the status quo as an immediate strategy and network with other women and influential personalities to change the status quo where necessary in the long term.

The press in many countries have ties with particular political parties that sell their agenda. This makes it relatively easy for candidates on specific tickets to break news, frame the discourse or debate on their campaign issues; participate in interviews, provide background interviews that can be used by reporters to clarify issues without being quoted directly; hold off-the-record discussions that are not quoted attributed to the candidate or even used in an article but which nonetheless shed light on a politician's issue.

Women candidates operating in Kenya have to recognise the limitations of the press in the country. Because of government control, television and radio networks are not free to sell the political agendas of different candidates. Although in our context the radio is considered the best source of breaking news as it has the highest capacity to reach the public, there are at the moment tight controls in the licensing of privately owned radio stations. These limit considerably the extent to which female candidates can reach out to the masses in this multi-party phase of our political life. It is with this factor in mind that it is valid to state that the print media currently represent a viable alternative for reaching out to the literate voters.

It is true that some journalists in Kenya can be induced to sell the political agenda of specific people, and this is a widely held belief, female candidates should have little reservation in using third channel to establish personal contacts and sell their stories through these journalists. It would be important for the candidates to remember however that the target

audience for newspaper- based campaigns will largely be found in the urban areas and that these would be people with a reasonable degree of education. Alternative channels for a wider audience would in this case have to be provided by social functions such as funerals and community development programs to reach the rural areas. This is because in the rural areas, a good number of journalists have ties with government controlled news agencies.

It is also important for women candidates to network with other women and work towards changing the status quo. One major challenge would be to educate the journalists to abandon their self-biases and negative attitudes towards women politicians which make them slant issues, quote the wrong examples and place wrong emphasis by selecting inappropriate headlines.

News about the political campaigns of women candidates have in the past covered issues such as physical harassment of the candidates, heckling, disruption of rallies, poor presentation due to lack of adequate public address systems, low turn-out and audience walk-outs. The coverage of these events has to a large extent been purely rhetorical and descriptive and direct at reinforcing societal impression that 'certain' candidates are inefficient and not ready for the challenging and difficult world of politics. It is significant that in many cases, no effort is made to guide the public through an analysis of the unfortunate culture of violence engulfing the political scene and the unfortunate discrimination of female politicians on account of gender. If the reporters attempted to achieve objectivity and informativeness, they would question the responsibility of a society where rowdy youth with misguided notion about the role of women are planted at rallies to heckle and boo female politicians. They would also question the role of provincial and local administration in interfering at times with the conduct of free and fair elections by ignoring disruptions of political rallies.

Journalists committed to free and fair election of female politicians would need to abandon the current tendency to reinforce negative attitudes towards the politicians and work to change public opinion. They would need to create a conducive environment for demolishing negative and traditional myths. These journalists should adhere to the principles of a professional approach that Joe Kadhi, a leading journalist and long time editor of the *Nation* newspaper, calls IFIFDAR. These letters stand for:

- Independence
- Freedom of the Press
- Impartiality
- Fair play

- Decency
- Accuracy
- Responsibility

They should also remember that these principle are especially called for when they cover the political campaigns of female candidates. Women politicians therefore need to understand how things work in the present circumstances in order to utilise the media in their political campaigns. They can then operate within the existing laws without changing the status quo as an immediate strategy, and network with other women and influential personalities to change the status quo in the long term.

In this regard, it is also necessary to promote women in the media so that there can be a significant number at the senior levels to make decisions about the stories that are published. It is also necessary for women politicians to consider starting their own publications that can focus on their issues, present a holistic coverage and make them visible.

Conclusion

To conclude this discussion, I suggest some practical ways of building public speaking capacity and skills.

A female candidate can build her public speaking skills in the following ways:

- Utilising social occasions such as funerals, fund-raising meetings, religious meetings and community functions to sell her agenda, establish network, and polish her public speaking skills.
- Attending as many public presentations as possible and reviewing the communication process along the following parameters;
 - (a) Choice of issue or subject and how it was presented
 - (b) the examples given and how accurately they reflected the issue.
 - (c) The reaction of the audience.
 - (d) the structure and manner or presentation.
- Organising and planning private meetings as a basis for knowing the possible composition of the audience and the issues that concern it.
- Listening to others talk during private and public meetings and using the opportunities to sharpen one's issues and state one's suitability as a candidate.

- Developing a media campaign strategy in order to win public opinion and reach a larger audience. This strategy which should never be to wait passively for the media to call should include the following;
 - (a) having a clear media goal, do you want to change public opinion or to mobilise people who already support you?
 - (b) reviewing past media coverage of election campaigns by women candidates and suggesting stories when you approach reporters and editors with ideas.
 - (c) identifying the job titles of television news decision makers as well as newspaper and magazine editors.
 - (d) targeting reporters on a story by story basis.
 - (e) holding news conferences now and then.
 - (f) mailing press releases.
 - (g) examining polling data and other records to determine how best to construct issues for the public.
 - (h) arranging newspaper editorial board meetings focused on your issue.
 - (I) meeting with reporters, appearing on talk shows and giving press interviews.
 - (j) establishing specific personal contacts and a strong track record with reporters.
 - (k) analyzing reviews from past media coverage and determining what the headlines and bodies of the articles say and how they can be improved.
 - (l) noting quotes from supporters and what is being quoted.
 - (m) noting quotes from the opposition and what their strongest arguments are.
 - (n) establishing an ideas think tank to assist with analysis and interaction with the media.
 - (o) knowing what you want the headlines to say.
 - (p) including personal stories in deliveries for press coverage.
- (Strategic Media: Designing a Public Media Campaign)**

Bibliography

- Bank, K. and Sparks, P (1996): Media. Communications Consortium Media Center. Washington.
- Fielding, M (1993): Effective Communication in Organizations. Rustica Press. Ndabeni, S. Africa.
- Gitonga, K. A (191): The Science of Election Campaigning. Cosmopolitan Publishers. Nairobi

- Karuru, N.et al. 'the Role of the Media in the Electoral System of Kenya'. A paper that was presented at the IED National Convention, 13-14 September, 1996.
- Ngechu, M. (No Date): How to Win Elections Through Effective Public Speaking. Synergy Service International Ltd. Nairobi.
- Samovar, L.A. and Porter, E.R (1995): Communication Between Cultures. Wadsworth Publishing Company. Belmont, California.

Fund Raising Techniques and Resources Management for Women Candidates

Introduction

It is becoming increasingly accepted both nationally and internationally that there are strong linkages between gender relations and sustainable development. Inevitably gender issues must form a critical factor in national decision making, policy making and policy reformulation.

Women must become more actively involved in national decision making through seeking elective posts into law making bodies. This is very important noting that women are the principal casualties of inadequate and irrelevant law and policies. But given the socio-economic conditions of our nation and going by history getting an elective post is expensive both financially and timewise. For the women candidate the issue of expense is complicated by the fact that traditionally women have remained less innovative in wealth – creation automatically placing them steps behind their male colleagues financially.

Historically men have sought elective posts usually much later in their lives after creating and amassing adequate financial resources. The much needed gender balance in our policy formulation must be instituted now! Women cannot wait to create enough wealth to seek elective posts! They must find and institutionalise innovative ways to raise funds to manage their campaign processes. The bottom line is that the fund raising methods identified must be sustainable in the long run. It is time for women to translate their numerical power into real economic and political power.

Fund Raising

Because of limited resources women candidates must engage in one form of fund raising or another. And because our society is a fund raising oriented society, it is possible for financially disadvantaged candidates to raise enough funds to manage a campaign process. The important point is that the willing public must be mobilized and motivated to support women candidates financially. The women candidate must identify which individuals, organisations and institutions in the society are supportive of

the whole process of women empowerment. The candidate must then decide how to package herself and her ideas so that she appeals to the generosity of these sources of funds. The whole process of fund raising must be approached strategically with careful thought and planning. The fund raising can either be individual/joint but whichever style of fund raising, the person or persons wishing to raise the funds must ask these key questions:-

Why? What is the principle objective for which the funds are being raised? One must have a well articulated purpose for the funds drive.

What? What activities and tasks need to be performed to actualise my objective. The objective must be broken down and translated into easily identifiable and measurable activities.

- meetings
- rallies
- meet the people tours
- entertainment
- media space
- campaign materials e.g. posters
- support to campaign team
- support to society affairs.

Cost? Each of the activities has a financial implication. Determine clearly how much each of these activities may cost. This ensures that your spending is result oriented i.e. you only spend money on those activities that are contributing to your objective.

Self assessment: Once you have known how much you need to, ask yourself how much you have already. Assess your capabilities and identify exactly how much you need to raise from outside sources. Determination of the actual need is important as it determines the intensity of the fund raising campaigns.

Source: The question of where and how to get the funds is important. Infact, this is the question of interest, for this paper.

Possible sources/Techniques of raising funds

Individual/Family

The individual herself and/or her family are the easiest and simplest source

of funds. But which individual is likely to have all the necessary funds? One if not careful may exhaust all family resources during a campaign.

Donor agencies

The possibility of getting funds from willing donors should be explored. However, this is disadvantageous in that you cannot control the quantity or timing of the funds so planning becomes very difficult. This method although possible should be discouraged because of its dependence syndrome. You cannot become truly free unless you are economically free.

Private companies

Candidates need to explore the possibility of getting funds or sponsorship from commercial companies. Here however, the candidate must be in a position to demonstrate to these organisations that they stand to benefit from your going to parliament. However, this may require that one belongs to a party with well articulated policies on investment, employment who hopes to raise money using this method must market the party policies! Is your party if elected likely to improve the business environment?

Harambees/Funds drives

The open harambee is yet another method of raising funds and especially if done jointly. However problems of management and sharing the realised funds may arise and these may result into conflicts.

NB:

All the above methods are short term in nature and they are not tenable in the long run. Friends, colleagues, organisations donors etc also have limited funds and are likely to grow tired and bored with giving! Women need to explore more sustainable methods of raising funds. Going alone won't help eventually. Joint fund raising could prove to be the most tenable of fund raising technique. But how can this be done?

Joint social events

- a) *Dinners/Luncheons*: Guests could be invited at a fee and money raised - used for campaigns. This is possible as a joint event.
- b) *Sales*: Jointly women could donate items and organise a sale.
- c) *Raffles/Rotaries*: Gift items could be solicited from willing donors and companies and used as raffle items with the raffle ticket being sold

for a few.

- d) *Walks*: Walks have been used successfully by many organisations e.g. the freedom from hunger walk. Women could explore further this method.
- e) *National women's day*: Women could select a day on which they could give services to organisations for a fee, e.g. cleaning up service.
- f) *Talks/Seminars*
Experts in various fields can be asked to give talks and participants charged some fee.

Creation of a national fund for women candidates

It is important for women to create a legally constituted national fund for women candidates.

A fund that would be independently managed by a Board of Trustees with full mandate to oversee the soliciting, receiving and distribution of any funds raised.

The question of interest is: "What are the modalities of coming up with such a fund? Because of the potentials of such a fund in terms of national acceptability and financial strength the roles of the various stakeholders or constituents in society must be well articulated in forming such a fund.

- The role of the candidates
- The role of political parties
- The role of the electorate
- Role of bodies committed to women empowerment
- Role of already formed women organisations like Maendeleo ya Wanawake, NCSW, NCWK etc.

Each of these organisations would have a particular role to play. There would be needed innovators or prime movers, organisers, contributors, custodians etc.

A suggested approach to forming the fund

Initiative

The initiative for this fund must come from the women leaders through their already established organisations. These leaders could come together and constitute a steering committee that would over-see the establishment of the fund. This committee would also over-see the sensitisation process that would be needed to sell the idea to Kenyan society to the donors

and likely funders.

The Fund must be national and non partisan for all the women of Kenya regardless of their race, colour tribe or party affiliation. This fund then would be the kitty where any willing supporter would put their money - noting that few organisations are willing to give money to individuals.

Management

The management of such a fund must be in the hands of fully independent and reliable men and women who would form a Board of Trustees. This Board would be a nationally representative board with members representing the various interest groups, donors, funders, grassroots organisations, government, churches, women organisations, professionals etc. The selection of this Board of Trustees must be preceded by careful and honest thought with the appropriate *legal help* the necessary *Legal documents* would be drawn stipulating very clearly. (1) Who is to benefit from the fund, (2) How the funds would be distributed, (3) The rights and obligations of the various interest groups, (4) Conflict resolution and (5) Funds soliciting etc.

The Board of Trustee could then constitute various committees to oversee the many activities that would ensure the survival of the fund.

- Fund raising committee
- Publicity committee
- Civic education committee etc.

Initial contributions

Because the fund would need initial monies, the process of collecting such monies should be a national activity to give the women of Kenya ownership of the fund. Each and every Kenyan woman committed to women empowerment should be given a chance to contribute. An affordable amount for any woman in Kenya would be ideal, for example if every woman were asked to contribute only KShs. 1.00 assuming that of the stated Kenyan population 50% is women and that out of this 50% only 10% contributed, we would have 1.2 million Kenyan women each giving only one shilling to the fund! This could be followed by country wide funds drive involving all willing supporters - companies, donors, individuals, organisations etc.

The relevant committee could then overtime explore other ways of continuously raising funds to build the national fund. Suggested examples could be, jambo sales, walks, diners etc.

National involvement

The involvement of women must be the key to organisation through organisations and elected leaders and would for the starting point, and the movement would continue through the administrative hierarchy upto the national level. In other words the fund would have branches from the locational level up to the national level.

Principles to guide the fund

- National representation.
- Transparency/accountability
- Full disclosure
- Equitable distribution
- Neutrality

Important issues as regards fund raising

Just like any other limited resource, the most permanent method of raising or managing funds is to systematically reduce the need for funds. The need to raise fund is to some extent determined by the attitudes of the various groups interested in the electoral process.

- The electorate, who may feel that by electing a candidate, they are giving her a ticket to prosperity and therefore may place a financial or other premium on their vote. They may want to be bought.
- Those wealthy and well connected candidates who are willing and able to "buy" the electorate and who may have nothing else better to offer.
- The political parties who make the posts so competitive by sponsoring and allowing the participation by too many candidates. When this happens a premium is again placed on the vote and candidates may do all the manner of engaging in expensive trade-offs!

To some extent the actions of the various groups could point to some political immaturity that we as a society must deal with. Don't the electorate have a responsibility to willingly and enthusiastically support their candidate without taking them through an expensive electioneering campaign?

Granted the candidate needs to inform the electorate that they wish

to be elected, they need to convince them that they are the best candidate but this need not be exploited for financial gain by some.

The candidates themselves can do something over the longrun to reduce the expenses of a campaign. Avoiding the last minute rush campaign, in my opinion, must begin immediately a general election has been concluded. If one can introduce themselves slowly to the electorate get interested in their affairs and life, one will gain enough time to inform, persuade and convince overtime. This would make campaigning superflous. It would be imagined that the most expensive campaign would be of a person who tries to do everything last minute. Long term education of the electorate is a good strategy to reduce the need for funds. This is where those bodies committed to women empowerment come in. These bodies could intensify civic education with programmes that encourage and motivate the society and especially women to translate their numerical power into real political power by electing their fellow women into decision making positions. They must be educated to understand the power in a VOTE.

Women who are by nature managers of natural resources must appreciate the need for them to influence the reformulation of policies related to these resources. This they can only do by electing leaders who can identify with their situations - in a nutshell women leaders. As a society, we need to change our attitudes against women and appreciate that they have special skills and capabilities which can be tapped through giving them a chance to become decision makers. Women and more so rural women are the custodians of many natural resources, yet their roles, contributions and potentialities remain undocumented. They never find their way into national statistics like the BOP, they are unreflected in legislative policies and programmes. Women are the back-bone of rural development and therefore they need to contribute to rural development policies/programmes. Historically women have faced low education level as the society places a low premium on their education. Those who enrol stay away from financially lucrative careers such as medicine and engineering. This coupled with the fact that women have no cultural rights over property ownership has greatly reduced women economic advancement. Naturally, the need for a women candidate to fund raise will remain much higher than for the male colleagues unless these imbalances are corrected and corrected decisively.

Our natural roles and responsibilities need re-thinking to make them more consistent with modern global thinking, - Gender Equity in all Spheres of Life.

Resource Management

Every human activity has a purpose or objective. To achieve these objectives resources are needed and these resources must be managed *efficiently and effectively*. Effective management of resources must be managed with minimum waste. Effectiveness means resources must be used for the purpose for which they were sought i.e. to achieve the objectives of the day. For women candidates to be efficient and effective resource managers, they need to be able to recognise what a resource is. A resource is anything that can be exploited to one's advantage. Resources could be both tangible and in-tangible.

Additionally, they need to understand what management entails. Management simply means getting work done using human and non-human resource. It is the art of being able to plan, organise, direct and control resources in order to achieve stated objectives. The guiding principle in resources management therefore is to have well *defined objectives*. What is it you have set out to achieve? The activity of planning entails mapping out a course of action in advance i.e. choosing the direction you want to take even before you make the first step. Saying clearly what you want to achieve within what period.

Organising means arranging resources in a logical and appropriate fashion.

- What activities are to be undertaken
- Who is to undertake them
- When are they to be undertaken

Directing means motivating and influencing the human resource so that they can willingly and enthusiastically support your course.

Controlling means establishing performance standards that will tell you how well or badly you are doing.

A budget is by far the most reliable measurable performance standard. Other not quantifiable standards like popularity can also be judged from people's behaviour.

Because basically in a campaign the candidate is selling herself to the people, acceptability and persuasion become important measures and therefore the candidate and her core campaign team must be very good at understanding and judging human behaviour.

The first strategy therefore in resource management is the selection of a good campaign team. A team of men and women who are good at interpersonal relationships.

Women as resource managers

Women have a competitive advantage in resources management because their natural roles as mothers and wives makes them natural resource managers. As they carry out their natural responsibilities, women find that they are continuously interacting with natural and even man- made resources.

- Women interact and manage soil and land as they engage in food production for their families.
- Water resources as they try to maintain the health of their families.
- Money - usually women must manage a limited kitchen budget.
- Time - as they try to balance the demands of their jobs and those of their families.
- Human - as the wife and mother of the world must delicate resources - men and children.

So in management of campaign resources, women candidate need only apply simple principles which they know very well and which they use everyday.

- Limited resources chasing unlimited needs and wants.
- Making choices - balancing demands and meeting the most critical of the demands at the time.
- Sacrifice - that without pain there may be no gain!
- Maximum productivity - ensuring that each unit of resources is stretched to the limit with minimum waste.
- Sharing - scratch my back, scratch yours - that in resources management you will need other's co-operation.
- Delegation

Identifying the resources

Mistakenly, most people feel that financial resource is the only resource. Whereas money is important and having it may make a campaign much easier, there are several other resources that could be exploited advantageously. The issue is to be able to identify these resources or, in other words, *critical success factors*. Any situation, person, institution or circumstance that can affect the success of your campaign is a resource to be managed. Below is a list (not exhaustive) of some of the resources that are at the disposal of the candidate.

i) *Family*

Your family, spouse, children, relatives are a very resourceful team. They need to accept your ideas and to support you. How does one balance the demands of the family and those of a campaign process? The principle of delegation comes in handy. Some family responsibilities must be delegated either to a relative or to a househelp. The family also forms the most reliable support/security team. Involving family members in meetings, tours, rallies etc. is a strategic move.

ii) *Social structures*

The society has several institutions that can be exploited advantageously. Examples include, the church, social organisations like football clubs, women organisations etc. How can you use these organisations to advance your objectives? Involvement in their affairs is one way. Because of individual limitations you may find that you need to delegate liaising with those groups to a reliable member of your campaign team.

iii) *Opinion leaders*

Opinion leaders in your constituency are another resource. These are influential people who can easily say the opinion of others. Targeting opinion leaders and getting them convinced may bring more votes than if you embarked on a meet-the-people process. Once you have won the leader you automatically win the leaders group. So identification of the critical few is very important. More time and effort must be allocated to the critical few.

iv) *The trouble shooters*

In any situation there will always be those few who are always critical, planting seeds of doubt in everybody and always pointing out the negatives. This group must be identified and silenced or tactfully left out of the campaigns. These are a critical few who must also be dealt with.

v) *Provincial Administration*

The goodwill of the Government through its administrative hierarchy is another resource or critical success factor for campaigning. The administration gives the necessary licences and provides the much needed freedom of expression, of movement and of association. One won't get very far without this goodwill. So, inevitably, cultivating a good working

relationship with the administration is really important. The candidate must know how to package themselves in-order to reduce and/or eliminate occurrences of conflict.

vi) *Information*

Whoever said information is power. Without it you will be at a disadvantage. The candidate must work out the necessary mechanism to scan the environment for any information that is relevant to the campaign process. This is one area where the candidate needs the support and goodwill of others. The activities of competitors, the reactions of the electorate, of the administration must all be brought home and included in your planning. The candidate will need:

- environmental monitors
- information processors
- information disseminators

The candidate must have her ears to the ground but individual limitations cannot allow her to be everything all the time. Careful planning and delegation of duties based on people's areas of strength is extremely important.

vii) *Human resources*

No candidate can succeed on her own. You need other people who can willingly and enthusiastically support you. A team of people who are fully committed to your course, and who can advance it and adequately represent you. Human resource is the most delicate, complicated and the most critical of all other resources. You may have lots of money, very good support equipment like transport, public address, etc but without a committed team of men and women, all these other resources will remain unproductive. From very early in the campaign the candidate must do a careful selection of a campaign team and *get those people to accept and identify with her objective*. Once this team has claimed ownership to your objectives, then they should be adequately motivated to willingly actualise the objective. Most people have the mistaken notion that money is the prime motivator with human beings. There are other subjective factors that are more critical than money. Without them money is not motivator enough. • Respect; • Recognition; • Appreciation; • Gratitude; • Empathy; • Independence.

The candidate must be people-oriented - appreciate and recognise

that others are human with all the human feelings and weaknesses. A belief in people and their capabilities is critical in campaigning. You as the candidate must be able to bring the best out of people. All you need is to ensure that you have the right people doing the right things. Maintain constant contact with your people throughout your campaign process. Practise participatory management. Appreciate your weaknesses and let others take over from you. Concentrate your individual efforts on your areas of competence.

viii) *Financial resources*

Money is an important resource in that all activities could be translated into monetary terms. The time you and your team use, the transport, the campaign materials, the posters, contribution to people's activities all have a monetary ingredient. We must recognise that having enough financial resources makes a campaign much easier but of course having money cannot guarantee success. The important issue in financial management is *identification of the critical activities*. Because money is limited, you cannot spend on all the activities regardless. Allocating the money must be on some principle - contribution to the objective. Those activities that contribute more to your objective must be treated with priority. This will ensure that funds are not wasted on trivia. The second principle in financial management is that of timing when to spend. A campaign covers several months. You must identify which period of the campaign is most critical to your success;

- is it at the beginning *information or awareness* stage.
- is it in the middle - *understanding* or persuasion stage or
- is it at the end or *conviction* stage?

When do you need to intensify your campaign? Once this has been determined then the issue of how much to spend must be dealt with. This is of course determined by availability of how much do you already have? Careful planning must then be employed in apportioning the fund to various activities. Lastly, some checks and balances must be put in place.

ix) *What a paradox?*

The commonly used phrase "We do not have enough time", is one of the greatest myths about time. If you have all the time and you must spend it, the issue of spending time does not arise. The issue of concern

is how we spend out time. We should shift gears from thinking about how we get enough time, to how as individuals we can effectively manage the time we have.

- Do you have a clear understanding of how you currently spend your time?
- Do you assess and set priorities for yourselves?
- Do you know how to say no to others and their demands in order to give yourself "free time"?

Learning to manage one's time effectively is the key to living a less frantic and more satisfying life. The starting point for effective time management is *setting priorities and actually doing something about them*. Do not get caught up in the excitement of 'Last Minute Rush'.

The Time Abuser

We have at one time or another used a mirror. Next time you use one look into it carefully and thoughtfully and you will see your biggest time waster - yourself.

Nobody ever wastes your time without your consent. You have a right to complain when kept waiting, there are alternatives you could take for instance before visiting people or offices. You can only overcome time problems if you come to grips with the reality that you are your own biggest time waster. Working longest does not mean working effectively - work smart! Time offenders include:

a) *The procrastinator*

'Until tomorrow' is their catchword. Putting off the doing of something intentionally and habitually. Activities are shelved until a more convenient time but they only pile and become unmanageable. If you suspect that you are prone to procrastination, always ask yourself, "Why am I putting this off"? If you cannot see any good reasons and do not confuse reasons with excuses then be ready to take action there and then. Never leave until tomorrow that which you can accomplish today.

b) *Poor delegation*

One person cannot be all-knowing duties that others can do more effectively should be passed to them.

c) *The indecisive person*

- This type of time abuse lacks confidence.
- Self is afraid to make decisions and is always waiting for others to explain, clarify or initiate.

d) *Improving time management*

- Planning your activities
- what to say/do?
- when to do/say
- who to say to

e) *Each action must be carefully planned*

- i) *Set targets (goals):* Let each activity be directed at the accomplishment of clearly stated objectives - be result oriented.
- ii) *Priorities:* According to importance and not urgency. The urgent things are not necessarily the most important.
- iii) *Equitable Distribution:* The amount of the time and effort to be spent on a given activity must be a reflection of its importance to the accomplishment of your objectives.
- iv) *Time log:* Never depend on memory. It is treacherous. Keep a time log, divide your day into intervals and state clearly how you will spend each interval. Record each activity you undertake as the day progresses including interruptions and distractions and their sources and reason. If you are in a rally and you find you cannot give your speech because people keep coming to greet you, then perhaps greeting people is an important activity that needs to be allocated time!
- v) *Delegation:* Identify those activities others can do for you and give them the authority and responsibility to do them.
- vi) *Saying No:* Learn to say no to others without hurting them. Give reasons for your no and sometimes just ignore some problems. You cannot solve all problems by yourself.
- vii) *Set deadline:* Never give yourself unlimited time - but give yourself and others a deadline for each activity.
- viii) *Ask for reports/feedback:* Practise the art of making reports and asking others to give you feedback on activities delegated to them.
- ix) *Practise the art of active listening:* Listening with understanding reduces time wasted on explanations, corrections and clarifications. When talking either to your team or your electorate,

listen for the total meaning of their messages.

- x) *Communication*: Keep communication lines between yourself and others open. Lack of communication will isolate you from the people and consequently from your objectives and much more time will be needed for refocusing.
- xi) *Create time*: a) Identify your prime time and spend it on creative thinking. b) Remove mental Blocks to creative thinking; • Lack of facts, • Lack of conviction, • Lack of perspective, • Lack of motivation. c) Be ware of the pareto rule of 22:80 - The *vital few* and trivial many: spend more time with the *vital few*.
- xii) *Bonus time*: Although we cannot borrow time to add to the 24 hours we can use idle time more constructively:
 - holidays
 - business trips
 - sunday mornings
 - waiting in places
 - lunch times
 - breakfast meetings
 - walking/ exercise (ponder crystalise)

NB: Time is basically self-management.

Group Reports and Way Forward

Group Reports

The following is a summary of group discussion reports that emerged during the NCWS's November 1996 Workshop. The reports were prepared around the five major issues that formed the focus of the workshop.

Guideline Questions

Issue 1: Electoral Laws and Procedures

- Identify major constraints and suggest ways in which women candidates can overcome the problems used by political parties to eliminate women candidates from electoral politics by the shortcomings of electoral laws and procedures during the electoral process.
- How can the voters and candidates ensure that electoral laws and procedures are observed throughout the election period?
- Is there anything in the current electoral legal framework that women can exploit to win the elections?
- What suggestions can you make on electoral law reforms which could improve the electoral process?

Issue 2: Fundraising Techniques

- What are some of the most viable fundraising techniques women candidates can employ to raise campaign funds?
- What are the most effective strategies women candidates can use to effectively manage their campaign resources?
- Suggest ways in which women candidates could share campaign resources with other candidates.
- Identify other financial mechanisms which could be put in place to cater for women candidates' campaign needs.

Issue 3: Campaign and Political Strategy

- Are there any gender comparative advantages that women

- candidates can exploit to win elections?
- What kind of packaging of campaign issues would encourage the electorate to support women candidates rather than male candidates?
- What are the major factors that discourage women from voting for other women and how can this situation be rectified?
- What kind of political party would best ensure women's election into politics?

Issue 4: Communication and Public Speaking

- What are some of the key communication problems which women experience in addressing public meetings?
- What are some of the practical ways in which a woman candidate can build her public speaking capacity and skills?
- What strategies should a woman candidate employ to ensure substantive and quality media coverage of her electoral campaign activities?
- What role can the media play in supporting capacity building of women candidates?

According to the moderator, the group discussions were guided by some questions worked out during the preparatory stages by moderators, resource persons and the NCSW secretariat. (see appendix for questions)

Group Discussion

Group 1: Electoral laws and Procedures

- Constitutional constraints: Helplessness of the Electoral Commission because of lack of independence and power.
- Composition of the Electoral Commission: Women have no voice in the commission (women lack adequate representation on the electoral commission).
- Time frame for voter registration is too limited.
- For women candidates, individualized nominations are problematic. It is important to get the party lists for councils and members of parliament (MPs) and presidential candidates photocopied and sent to the electoral commission collectively.
- There is also the serious issue of security of candidates.
- Computerization of voters register could also introduce possibilities of fraud.

- Individualized nomination is also problematic to women candidates in particular because of lack of adequate security.
- Rights to personal security for voters and candidates must be protected.

Recommendations

- a) Set up a desk at the NGO Council for purposes of conducting and setting up a hotline for women candidates (manned by all women empowerment (NGOs).
- b) This desk should be autonomous from the NGO Council.
- c) Poll monitors should be given legal recognition (as opposed to observers)
- d) Counting of votes should be done at the constituency level and on the spot to avoid rigging.
- e) Finally it was observed that the new identity card could be problematic because it has a constituency number on it. It was suggested that voters cards should be used as IDs.

Group II: Fundraising Techniques and Resource Management

- The best way to assist women candidates is to establish a national women's fund.
- Various fundraising methods could be used to build up the fund on a continuous basis. These would include a national Women's Day, walks, donations etc.
- A national co-ordination body would then be established to manage and sustain the fund.
- Fund to acquire various resources which can be shared by the women candidates.
- Initial funds to come from membership drives through the already established groups, e.g. NCSW, NCWK, MYWO etc. The membership fees would then be put into the fund.
- Fund to be managed through a Board of Trustees.
- Some of the membership drive funds should go to the kitty.
- The fund should be self-sustaining.
- Some of the money to be invested in fixed deposit accounts.
- Once a fund is established, women should use the fund to co-ordinate resources including vehicles.
- Fund could be used to make campaign posters for women.
- Need for a tink tank to manage the fund.

Group III: Campaign and Political Strategy

1. Women have a comparative advantage outside politics. Women can identify with the community at large and also understand the needs of the community i.e. rural survival mechanisms which are undertaken at the grassroots by women, etc.
2. Identification of campaign issues: This would help to put in place a campaign based on issues. Candidates must move away from party campaign to focus on issues such as family, poverty, children, education, shelter, food, water and technology.
3. Women organisations and church-based groups could be used to get votes. Women are the majority in our societies, and women are mobilizers and should be used properly to strike a balance. Women have a history of working together Identify other members of the community who could provide linkage.

Recommendations

- a) There is need to establish a more strategic utilization of the existing grassroots linkages that women already have e.g. the grassroots women's groups who can mobilize women voters.
- b) Gather situational analysis of information based on constituencies to allow women candidates to focus on the most important and relevant issues in their campaign. At the moment, situational analysis of constituencies in this country is still lacking - needs to be done urgently.
- c) Women should join political parties which allow for gender balance and distribution of support to women candidates.

Group IV: Communication and public speaking

- Prejudice because of socialization
- Stereotyping and socio-cultural constraints
- Harassment: This is through abusive language: booing, heckling to posters, sexual harassment and violence. There is also psychological harassment and indeed, absence of fellow women campaigners.
- Lack of confidence because of social-economic constraints.
- Limited and censored sources of information and feedback.
- Biased media
- Lack of media strategy by women. (Lack of established media network for women).

- Poor command of public speaking. There is need to make eye contacts etc and take control of the audience.

Recommendations

- a) Women must make an effort to be informed about current affairs.
- b) Be visible through the utilization of such social functions as:
 - attend public rallies
 - organise meetings
 - develop media strategy
 - attend church services
 - attend funerals
 - Acquaint with the media
 - Package message nicely
 - Women must not sit at home to wait for media
 - Make press releases
 - Appear on top of the shows

Group V: Co-ordination and Methodologies

Background

The women's national conventions held before the 1992 elections and in 1993 were a good beginning for co-ordinating women's agenda. But later on, some people were uncomfortable with the co-ordination of any kind.

NCSW then organised a meeting at the Norfolk Hotel in January, 1996 which was attended by more than 27 women NGOs in the country. There was a follow-up in the form of questionnaires for all women empowerment NGOs to respond to. The results and findings are contained in a report currently with NCSW regarding prospects for co-ordination of women's empowerment activities.

The findings revealed the followings:

- Women activities are unco-ordinated
- Activities are broad
- Activities and objectives were of long-term in nature.
- They have no specific set targets (they could go on forever doing civic education and empowerment).
- They have no indicators set hence not possible to evaluate.
- Many NGOs in women empowerment have no short term targeting.

The group agreed that since co-ordination had been resisted by member NGOs, it will be in order to come up with a new idea. The new idea is: *"Political caucus towards 1997 and beyond"*. The idea of a caucus has been successful in South Africa.

Suggested Action Plan

1. All women organisations that are focusing on political empowerment should form political caucus.
2. Co-ordination should be done with other organisations and NGOs interested in civic education like DARAJA and NCKK etc.
3. Sensitize all the civic education organisations to be gender responsive and democratic.
4. Develop a newsletter to share news/information among the women empowerment NGOs.
5. Establish and manage a hotline at a secretariat for women candidates and also rapid response to women issues in the media.
6. The caucus to become advisors to the Electoral Commission on gender issues.
7. Identify and create a skills reservoir for women's empowerment programmes.
8. Undertake urgently research for women candidates in their constituencies.

Way forward

At the close of the NCSW November 1996 workshop, participants agreed upon the following as the way forward for women of Kenya in the area of women's political empowerment.

- There is need to write to all NGOs supporting women to find out the following:
 - a) Who is doing what.
 - b) How many women candidates will stand for the 1997 elections.
- That there should be a steering committee to be formed to take action after this meeting.
- There is need to look for a pro-active strategy for engaging this committee which will:
 - a) Identify female candidates
 - b) Work on civic education components.
- It was noted that in 1992 and 1993, two national conventions were organised which came up with recommendations which have

not been followed. Therefore, there is no need for organising a convention because they are not productive.

- There is need to systematize the training materials used for capacity building of women candidates.
- The meeting resolved to form a political caucus group.
- That the first meeting to agree on how to move forward be facilitated by NCSW.
- That all women NGOs interested in women candidates' capacity building must be represented on the caucus.

Time frame: Two weeks from the day of the seminar.

Vote of thanks

Nzomo, on behalf of NCSW, thanked FES for supporting the Capacity Building of Women Candidates meeting. She also thanked colleagues and other women's organisations, who attended. She also thanked the moderators and all participants for making the workshop a success.

And on behalf of all participants, Ms. Eddah Rubia thanked NCSW for organising the Capacity Building Workshop for Women Candidates, in readiness for the 1997 elections.

Abbreviations

CCGD	-	Collaborative Centre for Gender Training
DP	-	Democratic Party
ECWD	-	Education Centre for Women in Democracy
FES	-	Friedrich Ebert Foundation (Stiftung)
FIDA	-	International Federation of Women Lawyers (Kenya Chapter)
ID	-	Identity Card
IED	-	Institute for Education and Democracy
KANU	-	Kenya African National Union
LKWV	-	League of Kenya Women Voters
MP	-	Member of Parliament
MYWO	-	Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation
NCCCK	-	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCSW	-	National Commission on the Status of Women
NCWK	-	National Council of Women of Kenya
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisation
PIC	-	Political Information Centre
Rtd.	-	Retired
UON	-	University of Nairobi
USIU	-	United States International University
WID	-	Women in Development
YMCA	-	Young Men Christian Association